TAM MARTI, QUAM MERCURIO.

The true Effigies of ye Hon.ble Sr. Walter Rawlegh Knight

F. H. van Hove. sculp.

THREE

DISCOURSES

OF

Sr. *Walter Ralegh.*

I. Of a War with *Spain*, and our Protecting the *Netherlands*. Written by the Command of King *James* I. in the First Year of his Reign, 1602.

II. Of the Original, and Fundamental Cause of Natural, Arbitrary, and Civil War.

III. Of Ecclesiastical Power.

Published by *Phillip Ralegh*, Esq; his only Grandson.

Sapiens uno minor est Jove, Horat.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE PREFACE.

THeſe Diſcourſes are made Publick by Philip Ralegh *Eſq; the only Surviving Grandſon of the Author,* Sr. Walter Ralegh. *The Character of that Worthy Gentleman is ſuch, that none, who know him, will queſtion their being Genuine, when they are told, that He publiſhes them as ſuch; and it is hoped that thoſe Readers, to whom He is not known, will be ſatisfied of their being what they pretend to be, from the intrinſick evidence they carry along with 'em. It is only deſired in their behalf, that they may not have the ill Fate their Author is ſaid to have met with, of being Condemned without a fair Trial. It has*

been thought, that if that Honourable Perſon had wanted a Pardon for ſome part of his Conduct, the great Merits of his former Services to the Crown, and to his Country, might have deſerv'd it; and if the Reader ſhould be of Opinion that theſe ſmall Tracts of his are not throughout ſo Correct, as never to ſtand in need of an Excuſe, he will be ſo juſt as to allow it for the ſake of his other Works, which the World has received with ſo Univerſal an Applauſe. The Author is known to have been an able Miniſter, and General; and from a Perſon ſo Qualified, the Reader has good Reaſon to expect Juſt Notions concerning Affairs of State and of War. He has here repreſented in a very clear Light, the great Danger that would enſue to all Europe, *and particularly to this Nation, from an Acceſſion of the* Nether-lands, *either to* France, *or to* Spain,

Spain; *and if the Miſchief of their being joyned to either of theſe Powers, whilſt their Intereſts were Oppoſite, appear'd ſo great, how much moee Terrible muſt the Conſequence be if their being thrown into that Scale, which, at this Juncture, carries the Weight of them both. The United Provinces have for this laſt Age been of great Moment in the Ballance of* Europe; *but it will be to no purpoſe to talk any longer of a Ballance, if thoſe who hold the Scales, ſuffer theſe to fall under the Power of the United Crowns. It is hop'd that the following Diſcourſes may be of ſome uſe towards enflaming that Zeal which is already kindled in the Breaſts of all True* Engliſh *Men, and Proteſtants, for the Preſervation of the Liberties of* Europe, *and the Defence of the Reformed Religion; and the Arguments which our Author*

makes

makes uſe of in favour of Holland *will be of the greater Force, becauſe, as much a Friend as he is to the* States, *he lies unde r no Suſpicion of preferring their Intereſt to that of his own Countrey.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

There are ſeveral Errors of the Preſs, but moſt of them ſo plain, that the Ingenious Reader need not be directed to them by an Errata.

A

DISCOURSE

Touching a

War with *SPAIN*,

And of the Protecting of the

NETHERLANDS.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

IT belongeth not to me to Judge whether the King of *Spain* hath done wrong to the *Netherlands*, or whether the *Netherlands* have failed in Allegiance towards the King.

The King pretending Abſolute Soveraignty, they pretending a conditional Obedience.

But it ſeems to me without queſtion, that both *Holland* and *Zealand* did of right belong to the Lady *Inquelin* of *Haynault*; who to ſave her own Life, was forced to relinquiſh her Eſtate, and that *Zupthen* and *Guelders* did as rightfully belong to the Duke of *Arnold*, who being Priſoner with that Duke of *Burgundy* that dyed before *Nance*, the ſaid Duke intruded upon his Poſſeſſion to the prejudice of *Adolfe* his Son and Lawful Succeſſor.

But leaving their Quarrels to their own Conſciences, whether it ſtandeth with Your Majeſty's ſafety to relinguiſh them, Yea, or No: is the Argument which I preſume to offer to your Majeſty's great Wiſdom.

The

The *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, with the reſt of the United Provinces (which altogether we call by the Name of *Netherlands*) are Your Majeſty's near Neighbours, and moſt Induſtrious People; they are near, and may with a blaſt of Wind, in Twenty four Hours depart their own Coaſts and enter ours.

And a Poor Neighbours Houſe ſet on fire, is to be better gaurded, or watched, than a great City afar off.

They are ſtronger by the ſituation of their Countries, ſtrong in Cities, Marriners, and Shipping, by reaſon of the Country and fortify'd Towns, they are able to defend themſelves; and by reaſon of the multitude of their Ships, they are in a condition to offend others.

There are no People more Induſtrious in all things, or more pro-

vident. Witneſs theſe two Particulars;

The firſt, That having in *Holland* neither Timber nor Iron, they Build more Ships and cheaper, than either *England* or *Spain*, which have plenty of both.

The ſecond is, That whereas their Grounds are in effect all Paſtures, and have no Wheat growing of their own, they not only ſerve themſelves cheap; but have us'd (when the Trade was open) to furniſh both *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy* with the ſame Grain. Now whether it will ſtand with Your Majeſty's ſafety to abandon a Nation ſo near, ſo ſtrong, and ſo induſtrious will be the Queſtion? I Anſwer, That for Your Majeſty to leave the *Netherlands* to themſelves, as they are conſider'd ſtrong, can bring no other danger to Your Majeſty than is common to all Princes

that

that have ſtrong Neighbours.

But if they cannot ſubſiſt of themſelves, nor without their ſubjection to ſome other Prince, or State, they ſhall not be able to defend themſelves; then the peril which may enſue is very likely, or rather aſſur'd to *Britain*. It is firſt therefore to be enquir'd, Whether they can ſubſiſt, or no? if they they can, it is formerly anſwer'd; if they cannot; on what Prince they are likelieſt to rely?

Firſt, That they have means to defend themſelme, Experince denies it; and that Experience is grounded upon good Reaſon: For as Your Maſeſty beſt knows it, as from the beginning of their Revolt, they have made Strangers to their Bodies, their Defenders; ſo are their own *P*eople altogether unapt for Soldiers: If they were otherwiſe, yet have their Eſtates now

ſuch Dominion, as they can employ them otherways; moſt part of their People are Mechanicks, and live by their Handy-crafts, their Crafts Men maintain their Trades, and Navigation produces their Revenues, which maintain their Wars. And tho' there have been certain Troops erected of *Fryſons*, and out of other Iſland Parts; yet theſe do rather ſerve to make up their Numbers, and furniſh their Garriſons, than that they have us'd them in any important Service, or in the Field: So that the ſtrength of their Armies have conſiſted for the moſt part, of *Englig*, *Scotch* and *French*.

If then, ſuch be the compoſition of their Armies: It is firſt apparent, that they cannot defend themſelves by their proper Forces; and that they will rely and give themſelves to one of thoſe Princes; *viz.* to the

the *Engliſh* (accounting now *England* and *Scotland* all one) or *French*; or elſe return again in the end, to the Arch-Duke, or to the *Spaniſh* King.

The Reaſon why, they bind themſelves to this choiſe is, *P*ower and Neighbourhood, Your Majeſty, and the *French* being beſt able, and the next adjoyning.

To expect ſuccour from the *Germans*, or from other Princes which are remote, they cannot

Firſt, Becauſe thoſe Princes have Dependance on the Emperor.

Secondly, Becauſe they are not of Ability to maintain the Quarrel.

And Thirdly, and chiefly, Becauſe their ſuccour cannot come ſo far, being to March over Land, the Charge being double to all Armies that paſs through the Territories of other Princes; which

muſt either be able to maſter the Territories, or paſs by ſafe Conducts whether they March.

So great Armies, as ſhall maſter Countries the States needs not; and the leſſer will be always in danger to be cut off, or reſiſted. The Neighbouring Princes being more fearful of the *Spaniard*'s Greatneſs, than careful of the States Amity.

But the *Netherlands* require often ſupply, and few in number, ſuch Troops as may be Tranſported by Sea, in the *Netherlands* own Shipping, and at an eaſy rate, and in leſſer time: For as *England*, *Scotland* and *France*, may ſupply them in Twenty four Hours.

So from any Prince or State elſe, they may be in coming over Land, Twenty four Weeks.

It is therefore likely, That if Your Majeſty refuſe them, they will offer themſelves to the *French*,

or

or return to the *Spaniſh* Obedience, both which will bring equal danger to Your Majeſties State.

The Reaſons are many; but I will rehearſe them in a few words, becauſe Your Majeſty can better judge by a word, then another can by a Vollume.

There are Two ways, by which *England*, may be afflicted.

The one by Invaſion, being put to the Defenſive, in which we ſhall but caſt Lots for our own Garments.

The other by Impeachment of our Trades: by which Trades all Commonwealths flouriſh, and are enrich'd.

Invaded or Impeach'd we cannot be but by Sea, and therefore that Enemy which is ſtrongeſt by Shipping is moſt to be ſuſpected and feared.

It

It is certain, the *Netherlands* are able to furniſh more Ships of War and Mariners, than all *England* and *Scotland* can do, with greater facility, and in ſhorter time: What Advantages Your Majeſty hath by the powerfulneſs of Your own Ships, the ſame Advantages are Anſwer'd by the *Netherlands* in their Numbers.

Who by reaſon of their long Wars with *Spain*, and diligent ſearch over the World for Trade, are become the moſt orderly and beſt Diſciplin'd Men of War by Sea in all *Europe*.

This great ſtrength of Shipping, is not ſo much to be accounted of, if it were not in theſe Two Reſpects.

The one becauſe it is ſo exceeding near us.

The other, becauſe *Holland* and *Zealand* are ſituate between Us, and

and our beſt Trades, which are all *Eaſtward.*

For our *Muſcovia* Fleets, our Merchant Adventurers, our Companies of *Eaſtland*, and all which Trade through the *Sound*, from whence we have our Materials for Shipping, muſt paſs by *Holland.*

And if thoſe Trades were Impeach'd, all ſorts of People would ſuffer together, and the Commonwealth fall into extream poverty and decay.

And whereas it may be Objected, That our *Muſcovia* Fleet, and our Merchant Adventurers are of ſufficient ſtrength to make their own paſſage, and need not fear the force of the *Netherlands.* I confeſs, that, as they may paſs; ſo they may periſh.

But this is a general, and infallible Rule, in all the courſe of Mer-

Merchrndze, That whereſoever the Adventure is great, and the profit little; the Adventurer will ſoon give up.

But if the *Engliſh Merchants* ſhall be driven to double *Man* their Ships, and furniſh them with double Munition, and pay double Wages, then the Charge will be double to that which now it is; the Hazard will alſo be manifeſt, for the Reaſons before alledg'd.

And that which will prove as great an Inconveniency as the reſt, will be.

The great Price of *Merchandize* return'd from all theſe Burdens, will light upon the Buyer, and upon all ſorts of People, in the End.

Example may be taken by the *Merchants* of *Civill* in *Spain*, when by reaſon of our ſcatering *Men* of War upon their Coaſts in the *Indies*, did pay 20 *per Cent.* for Con-

voy:

voy. This new charge ſo impoveriſh'd the Merchants, that both the Banks of *Civill* broke, at the firſt misfortune that befel them, for little leſs than Twenty Millions.

There's a great difference between the ſtrength of the *Netherlands*, and that of the *Spaniſh* King; when he maketh any great Armado, he's driven to take up, and imbark in the Shipping of all Nations, ſome of his own, others from *Venice*, or *Raguſa*, others out of all the parts of the *Eaſtlands*, and from the *Hans* Towns, from the *Danes*, *Hamburgers*, *Lubikers* and *Bremers*.

Theſe Ships are of divers Conducts, and divers Swiftneſſes, ſo as they cannot either aſſail, or defend in groſs, as the *Engliſh*, or *Netherlands* can.

The *Spaniſh* King is alſo conſtrain'd to preſs the Mariners of other Nations, as the *Italian*, *French*, *Flem-*

Flemming and *Dutch*, to mingle with thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Nation: When theſe come to any extremity, either by foul Weather, or by Fight; the Confuſion is infinite, and ſometimes a Ship may be caſt away by miſtaking of a Rope: There cannot be found any Maſters or Captains that can ſpeak all theſe Languages; and if they could, yet were it to little purpoſe; for Men are directed at Sea, by multitude, not in a ſingle Voice.

Furthermore, theſe Men that are of ſtrange Nations, and are taken up by violence, fight with their Hands, but not with their Hearts; they rather deſire liberty than Victory, and rather ſeek to hide themſelves, and ſave themſelves thereby, then to hazard their lives in a Quarrel that neither appertains to them, their Princes, or their Country.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, When the *Spaniſh* King ſhall attempt any thing upon *England*, or *Ireland*, or any ſuch remote Country: His Fleets are ſubject to great variety of Winds and Weather, and to many Storms, by reaſon whereof, the late great *Spaniſh* Admiral loſt both his Enterprizes upon *England*: The laſt Fleet alſo that came for *Ireland*, was diſpers'd and much broken; and in the Year 1588, after the Duke of *Medina* was once beaten from the Narrow Seas, he loſt the beſt part of his Fleet by Tempeſt.

On the contrary, the *Netherlands* have as many Ships of their own, as any Chriſtian Prince hath, their Ships are of one faſhion, conduct, and ſwiftneſs; their Mariners of their own Nations, and Language; Valiant and well order'd Men; and, as it is ſaid before, ſo near us, as they will be in our

Ports

Ports in a Summers Day: So no People ſo fitted by Art and Nature to annoy theſe Kingdoms as they.

It may perchance, be Objected, That when King *H.* VIII. had Wars with the Emperor *Charles* V. who was alſo Lord of the *Low Countries*, that the *Engliſh* received no prejudice by the main Ships of the *Netherlands*: It is true, and I my ſelf remember, that within theſe Thirty Years, Two of Her Majeſty's Ships would have Commanded One hundred Sail of theirs.

I remember alſo, when my ſelf was a Captain in *Ireland*, that a Hundred Foot, and a Hundred Horſe, would have beaten all the force of the ſtrongeſt Provinces: But of late, I have known an *Eaſterling* Fight hand to hand with one of Her *Majeſty's* Ships; and that the *Iriſh* have in this laſt War overthrown with even, or a far leſs number.

The

The *Netherlands*, in thoſe Days had wooden Guns, and the *Iriſh* had Darts, but the one is nowfurniſh'd with as great a number of *Engliſh* Ordnance as our ſelves, and the orher with as good Pikes and Muskets as *England* hath.

Of which War, I know no other profit ariſing, than the expence of Two Millions, the impoveriſhing of this Kingdom, and the Training and Arming of the *Iriſh*, who have now, and ever had, their Lands, and Lives reſtor'd when they have been brought to the laſt Gaſp, and point of Subjection. And therefore if this truly be ſo of the former Government, *Stultum eſt eos invadere quos neqeant in officio retinere*; *'Tis a fooliſh thing to aſſault thoſe whom we cannot keep in ſubjection when overcome.*

And a Council indeed far out of courſe, which doth neither re-

tain the mind, nor reſtrain the Mighty. But he that Governs by Diſcourſe of former Times, ſhall but take counſel of the Dead; for the Natures of all things under the Sun are ſubject to change, but the nature of Reaſon only. And it is certain, that in the Times of alteration,

The wiſdom of Nature is better than of Books; Prudence being a wiſe Election of thoſe Things which never remain after one and the ſelf ſame manner.

To Reaſon by compariſon; and to prove by the Argument *a Minori ad Majus*, how much the Trade of *England* may be endanger'd by the *Netherlands*; Your Majeſty may pleaſe to remember, that *Dunkirk* is but a Fiſhing Town, a bad Haven, and hath not above a dozen Sail of ſmall Ships, before which Port alſo there is continually

ally maintain'd a ſtrong Fleet of *Hollanders*, and *Zealanders* to reſtrain them ſo, as they can neither come forth, nor paſs in, but in a dark Night for fear of their Enemies, and at a *Spring*-tide for want of Water; and it is true, that thoſe few *Dunkirkers* have taken from the *Weſt-Country* Merchants within two Years only, above Three thouſand Veſſels; beſides all that they have gotten from the reſt of the Ports of *England*, and from the *Netherlands*, inſomuch as they have ſo impoveriſh'd all thoſe *Weſtern* Merchants, as their Trade in effect is utterly decay'd, and thoſe People which were wont to be ſet at work by them, and did live in good ſort, do now live by alms and begging.

If then one poor Town in *Flanders*, notwithſtanding the Impediments before rehears'd, hath ſo much Impoveriſh'd Your Maje-

ſty's Subjects; What can *Holland* and *Zealand* do, who are able to ſet out fifty Sail of better Ships than thoſe of *Dunkirk* are? If it be ask'd, What would be the conſequence if they ſhould join to Your Majeſty's Enemies; I ſhall anſwer as the Marſhal *Biron* did to the *French* King, *Vous le ſcavez mieux que moy; Your Majeſty knows better than I.*

Now, as the *Netherlands* may be us'd to impoveriſh Your Majeſty's Dominions, by diſturbing our Trades: So ſhall they be in Eſtate to aſſiſt the *Spaniſh* King upon any Invaſion, and that ſo dangerouſly, as it can hardly be reſiſted; for if the King of *Spain* ſhall prepare a Fleet in *Spain*, and therewith aſſail the *Weſtern* Ports, and the *Netherlands* with their Fleet, and Army of the *Low-Countries*, undertake the Invading

our

our *Eaſtern* Parts at the ſame time, the greateſt Fleets that *England* can make (if it be divided) will not be able to Encounter either.

Furthermore, if the *Netherlands* be with-held from the *Spaniſh* Obedience, Your Majeſty hath but an Enemy of *Spain*; if You break with *Spain*, the Trade alſo is free and open to all Parts of the *Eaſt*; but if *Spain* recover the *Netherlands*, and then Quarrel with Your Majeſty, You ſhall then find a ſtrong War; and a ſtrong reſtraint of Trade on both ſides.

To all this, Your Majeſty may juſtly ſay, That I ſpeak upon ſuppoſitions only; and I confeſs it.

For Firſt is not agreed on, That if Your Majeſty leave the *Low-Country*-Men, that then they will receive the *Spaniſh* King, or the Arch-Duke.

Secondly, Tho' they do, that therefore it follows, that either of them will make War with Your Majeſty.

What the *Netherlands* will do, they being rejected by *England*, I cannot determine; it were preſumption to ſpeak, but only mention, what danger in likelihood may happen to *England* in the future.

For if the States do find, that they cannot ſubſiſt of themſelves, and that Your Majeſty refuſe to protect them, then it is undoubted, but that Neceſſity (which inforceth all things) will alſo inforce them to chooſe a Maſter; and a fit Maſter cannot be found for them, but in *England*, or in *France*, unleſs they return to the Old----

If they give themſelves to *France*, it is worſe for us, as I conceive.

If

If they ſubmit themſelves to the *Spaniſh* King, what he will do afterwards, *Is Occultius humana voluntate, Is a ſecret to us; and harder to diſcover, than the intention of a Man in a matter, before occaſion offer'd to determine his Reſolution.*

It is known to God only, what he may then do, is that which I preſume to remember your Majeſty of: And wo be to that Prince, or State who holds his Quiet by the will of another.

I have heard, That both the King, and the Arch-Duke will offer to Your Majeſty Continuance of Peace: And I know they have good Cauſe to deſire it: But, *Unde hæc de illis tanta modeſtia niſi Cognitione Virium noſtrarum & ſuarum— But from whence comes this great Moderation and compliance, but only from the knowledge of our Strength, and*

their own Weakneſs. And I am perſwaded, Your Majeſty may have better Conditions than ever King of *England* had.

But after the *Spaniard* ſhall have repair'd his Loſſes, I know not how Your Majeſty may be aſſur'd of his Amity: For the Kings of *Spain* were not wont to keep either Promiſes, or Oaths longer than they may prove profitable to themſelves; *Cum principes utantur nomine pacis & fidei potius ad propriam commoditatem quam ad earum obſervationem—For Princes make Promiſes and enter into Leagues cheifly for their own advantage; and longer then they tend to that, they do not hold themſelves oblig'd to obſerve them.*

And eſpecially the Kings of *Caſtile*, who have follow'd *Ferdinand* (the firſt Elector of that Monarchy, into greatneſs) both in Condition and Determination.

Which

Which *Ferdinand* the better to effect what he aſpir'd unto, did forbear to break neither Oaths, nor Promiſes; reſpected neither Alliance, nor Kindred: witneſs his Treaties, and in them he folded up Treaſons againſt the *Neapolitan* Prince his Cozen, and to whom alſo he marry'd his Siſter, and to whoſe defence he ſent *Gonſalvo* with an Army againſt the *French*, and with the ſame Army ſet upon the King at *Naples*, overthrew him, and divided his Kingdom (as Your Majeſty beſt knows) with *Lewis* XII.

How he handled the *French* afterwards, and the *Venetians*; how he abus'd and betray'd his Son-in-law, King *Hen.* VIII. when he drew the *Engliſh* Army into *Biſcay*, with promiſe to join with the *Engliſh* to recover the Dutchy of *Guienne*, while himſelf did by that colour Conquer *Navarre*.

Of

Of the like Practices, of his Succeſſor, *Charles* V. it were needleſs to repeat to Your Majeſty; I have ſet it down at large, in *a Diſcourſe how War may be made againſt* Spain, *and the* Indies; which I will alſo preſent to Your Majeſty, if You will vouchſafe the reading thereof. King *Philip* the laſt, had the ſame intent the reſt of his Predeceſſors had; and if the Revolt of the *Low-Countries* had not been the impediment, and his fond enterprizing of *France* and *England* at one time, he had put all *Europe* in great hazard e're this!

But it may be perſwaded, That Your Majeſty may Relieve the *Netherlands* under-hand, as the *French* do, or Her Majeſty did in the beginning of their Revolt, for which, the King of *Spain* will not dare to Quarrel for the preſent; for Princes muſt ſometimes look through their Fin-

Fingers, as well as poor Men. *Maximilian*, the King of the *Romans*, made a Peace with *Charles* VIII. of *France*, notwithstanding he had taken from him the Dutchess of *Britain*, to whom he was marry'd by Proxy, and rejected *Maximilian*'s Daughter (a double and most intolerable Injury;) but such a kind of Peace, which is apparently dissembled, cannot last long; for as it was said by *Annius*, *Prætor* of the *Latines* to the *Romans*, *Pacem si bonam dederitis & fidelim, sit perpetua, si malam, haud Diuturna— A just and reasonable Peace may hold and continue; but one obtain'd through wicked Practices can never last long.*

If a present Parley be proposed, the question is, Who shall receive the greatest proffit by the Cessation?

The King of *Spain* is now so poor, as he imployed the *Jesuites* to beg

beg for him at every Church-door in *Spain*.

His Revenues are Mortgaged in ſuch ſort, as of Twentyfive Millions, he has but five Millions free; his Ships are worn out, and Conſumed, and his People in general exceeding poor.

He hath of late received many Affronts and Loſſes; and in *Peru*, many of the chiefeſt and beſt Towns are recovered from him by the Natives.

And commonly when great Monarchies begin once in the leaſt to decline, their diſſipation will ſoon follow after.

The Spaniſh Empire hath been greatly ſhaken, and hath begun of late years to decline; and it is a principle in Philoſophy, That *Omnis diminutio eſt preparatio ad corruptionem. That the leaſt decay of any part, is a forerunner of the deſtruction of the whole.* And

And tho' it may be a while upheld, as the State of *Rome* was by *Veſpaſian* and *Trajan*; yet following the former declination, *Retro ſtatim ſub-lapſa fertur uſque dum plane ſubverſa fuit. It preſently fell back again, and never left declining till the Roman State was utterly overthrown.*

But if now the King of *Spain* can obtain Peace upon any Condition reaſonable, ſo as he may fortifie his weakneſs, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, and gather again ſufficient Riches, putting the Engliſh from the Exerciſe of War in thoſe parts, and ſo make us to forget his *Indies*, till thoſe be conſumed that know them; he will ſoon grow to his former Greatneſs and Pride: and then if Your Majeſty ſhall leave the *Low-Countries*, and he find us by our ſelves, it will not be long e're he remembers his old practices and attempts.

And

And Your Majeſty having divers Nations and divers humors to content, he will not doubt to find a great advantage by our neglecting the reformed *Netherlands* abroad, and from the hardſhips the Roman Catholicks complain of at home.

Moreover this advantage the Spaniſh King ſhall ever have; that whenſoever they ſhall think fit to make a pretence, may find a time once a Year to ſtay, and Confiſcate a hundred Sail of our Merchants beſt Ships and Goods in his own Ports; and Your Majeſty ſhall not find any of theirs in all *England*.

If then a Peace give him time to repair and fortifie himſelf, and encreaſe his Treaſure, Your Majeſty can have no aſſurance, but that when he is repaired he may take Your Majeſty at all advantages.

The King being a Catholick, and a Child of the Pope's, he can never in any reſpect affect you, or any other Prince, or State of the reformed Religion.

It is very conſiderable, whether the way of War, or the way of Peace, were the way of Safety, yea or no; eſpecially, as Peace may be dangerous, and the War profitable.

But for my own opinion (which is little worth) I do conſent, that the *Netherlands* will not be drawn without a moſt forcible extremity to yield themſelves to the *Spaniſh* King.

The King of *Spain* takes himſelf to be their Natural Lord; the injury which he conceiveth, hath been done him by the *Netherlands*, is an unquencheable Fire; for he hath been by them both waſted, prevented and diſhonoured, and there-

therefore it will be hard to perſwade theſe People to put their Necks under the *Spaniſh* Sword.

Marſhal *Montluc* ſpeaking of the death of *Caſtilian*, uſeth theſe words, *Nous perdons l'entendement, ne ſongeans pas, que les Roix ont plus de cœur que nous & qu'ils Oublient plutoſt les ſervices que les offences. We muſt excuſe the inconſiderateneſs of thoſe, who do not think, that Princes have a greater heart and ſtomack than we, and that they may forget a great many Services, but never one Injury.*

Francis the II. never forgot the Tumult at *Amboiſe*.

Charles the IX. the Enterpriſe at *Meaux*.

Richard the II. of *England*, the Earl of *Arundel*, who forced him to take the Tower for Refuge.

It is not very likely that a King of *Spain* will forget a Rebellion of Thirty Years continuance; in which he

he hath ſpent One hundred Millions of Duckets, loſt ſo much Honour, and ſo many worthy Men; and if an accomodation were agreed on, betwixt the *Netherlands* and *Spain*, yet I cannot believe, that the *Netherlands* will think themſelves ſecure upon any ſimple agreement, but that they will ever ſtand upon their Guards.

And if the *Spaniſh* King ſhould require their aſſiſtance (at any time after Compoſition) againſt this Kingdom, yet they would be well abviſed in this point, knowing right well that *England* is the Rampire and defence of their Eſtates, and cannot but believe, that although Your Majeſty do not haſtily enter into a War for them, yet your Majeſty will always have an Eye to their ſubſiſtence.

Furthermore it will be very fearful to both ſides, how they may

truſt one another in joynt Forces, remembring this Precept, *Non utatur dux Militum opere nec perſona offenſi, That Generals muſt not take into their ſervice, the Perſons of thoſe that are diſguſted.*

Again, the States that have found the ſweet of Commanding, will not eaſily make themſelves Servants to the will of another.

And an Eſtate once eſtabliſh'd, is not chang'd but by Violence.

The States have moreover baniſh'd and put from them all their Nobility, but very few poor ones, and have ſhar'd all their Inheritance among them; therefore they know if they render themſelves to the *Spaniards*, thoſe great Perſons will be reſtor'd, and reveng'd; beſides, where the Religion is in queſtion, when the *Spaniards* will ſtand on ſo many Points of Honour; and the *Netherlands*

lands on ſo many Conditions of Safety; the Diſpute will not be ended in haſte.

It is true, that the *French* are moſt obſerv'd to concern themſelves, of all other, in this Affair; for both Count *Maurice*, and ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry that remain, are moſt addicted that way.

France is already one of the greateſt Kingdoms in *Europe*, and our fartheſt Friend.

They know Your Majeſty's Right to all, and to *Normandy* and *Aquitaine* without Diſpute.

Your Majeſty hath not now a Duke of *Burgundy*, and of *Britain*, to aſſiſt You, as Your Predeceſſors had, *France* hath all Yours, and the Countries of *Provence*, *Anjou*, *Bourgundy* it ſelf, and a great part of *Picardy* alſo; and Your Majeſty not ſo much as *Callice*, or any

place of ſtrength of Your own, on that ſide, in Your poſſeſſion.

It may be ſaid, That Your Majeſty ſhall have the aſſiſtance of the numerous Reformed *French*, if need require; who are ſuppoſed to be Friends to *England*, becauſe Enemies to the *Roman-Catholicks*: And it may be to get themſelves good Conditions, theſe may move, they may agree for the beginning, but not for the End: *Newhaven* may put Your Majeſty in mind, what may be hop'd from the *French*, of what Religion ſoever.

The advantage which Your Majeſty hath over the *French* is only in Shipping.

If the *French* get the *Low-Countries*, that advantage is alſo loſt.

And altho' it be probable, that the *Netherlands* will remember *Monſieur*'s Attempts upon *Antwerp*, *Dunkirk*, and other places, after he

he was Elected Duke of *Brabant*; yet I hope ſhall never live to ſee the Day wherein the *French* ſhall be Maſters of the *Netherlands* upon any Conditions; for they may ſerve the *French* to infinite purpoſes, altho' they ſuffer them not, to be abſolute in their Cities and fortifi'd Places.

For if the Army or the States ſhall march on the one ſide, and that of *France* on the other ſide, the Arch-Duke will ſoon be cruſh'd between them; *France* having a good Title to *Flanders*, *Artois*, &c.

And then Your Majeſty finding how dangerous it will be for Your Self, to ſuffer *France* to be the Maſter of the *Netherlands*, and ſo many Ships, and to poſſeſs ſo many of the *Inland* Provinces withall; cannot for Your own ſafety ſake aſſiſt the Arch-Duke, and

ſo whereas by aſſiſting the *Netherlands*, Your Majeſty might have made the War profitable, and by their Shipping commanded all the Trades in the World.

Then Your Majeſty by taking part with the Arch-Duke, ſhall but waſte Your ſelf, and impoveriſh all Your People and Commonwealth.

But Your Majeſty well knowing, that *Conſilijs nulla res tam inimica eſt quam celeritas. That nothing is ſo great an Enemy to Counſel, as too much haſte*; will as I think be firſt reſolv'd, what the Eſtates will contribute towards the War upon *Spain* and the *Indies*.

Secondly, In what Places they will make the War in the *Low-Countries*; in *Flanders* or *Dunkirk*: That Your Majeſty my thereby have equal profit, and that Your Majeſty's People be not ſpoiled as heretofore. *Thirdly*,

Thirdly, How Your Majeſty ſhall be paid your great debts already owing.

And Laſtly, How Your Majeſty ſhall be aſſur'd both of the cautionary Towns, and of their aſſiſtance for the future, when Your Majeſty ſhall further enable them; ſeeing by Your Majeſty's late goodneſs they are already made ſo forcible; that as You are either driven to defend them, or to fear them; ſo Your Majeſty may in ſome part be aſſur'd of their dependence.

Your Majeſty will alſo underſtand how difficult a thing it is to be aſſur'd of the *Spaniſh* King, and the Arch-Duke.

If You abandon the *Netherlands*, how to free Your *P*eople from the *Inquiſition* of *Spain*, enlarge their Trades, and be ſecur'd not to have Your Ships ſtayed in his Ports at his pleaſure.

There are many Conſiderations which ought to forerun a War. *Poſſunt arma facile ſumi ſed eis ſumptis Eorum difficilis eſt depoſitio.* *'Tis an eaſie matter to take up Arms and go to War, but to carry it on with that vigour and ſucceſs as to obtain a happy concluſion is exceeding hazardous and difficult.*

Your Majeſty will further know the quantity of Your Treaſure, and how a War may be as well ſupply'd as begun, *Prudens militum præfectus bellum ſine pecunia non Conſtituat, quoniam ea ſi difuerit Difficillimum eſt Exercitum convenire aut conventum conſervare.* *A prudent Prince will conſider his Treaſure and Revenues before he goes to far; for if Money be wanting, 'tis impoſſible to get an Army together; or when they are ſo, to preſerve them; for Money is the only Cord and Sinew that can draw Men into his ſervice, or keep them faſt*

when

when they are there: For Princes that think to be ſerved for nought, will have their Buſineſs come to nothing.

There are many other proviſions to be made towards the ſafe and honourable management of a War, which are not ſo ſoon gather'd together. 'Tis in vain to expect to ſee a Workman build a Houſe before he hath materials; *Nullum movendum eſt bellum niſi ad illud paratis neceſſariis. No body will engage in a War, before all things neceſſary to ſupport and carry on that War, be provided.*

The Affair is great, which Your Majeſty is at preſent to conſider of, and the greateſt that ever King of *England* had; for the branches are many, and moſt weighty; the Eyes of all the World beholds your Majeſty herein; and as Your Majeſty ſhall deal like Your ſelf; ſo ſhall Your Majeſty be valu'd of all Na-

Nations: If any perſwade Your Majeſty to paſs it over ſlightly, he is ignorant and underſtands it not.

If any perſwade Your Majeſty to a haſty Concluſion for either part; I ſhould ſuſpect him to be more concern'd for his own, or ſome others, then for Your Majeſty's Intereſt; and that he were partial to the one, or the other; for in every particular that ſhall be handled, many miſchiefs may be folded up, which will not appear at the firſt; and on the contrary, much honour and great aſſurance of advantage may be only viſible; *Sed quod interius malum tegunt principia, poſteriora produnt. But Evil then does us the moſt miſchief, when it comes to us under the mask and diſguiſe of Good; and the effects of a ſecret and undiſcover'd danger are of all others the moſt fatal.*

Firſt in the Queſtion of leaving,

or

or ſuccouring the *Netherlands*; Whether it ſhall be openly, or underhand, if at all; what profit every way, and what aſſurance may be gotten to Your Majeſty by aiding them, and what danger by leaving them.

If Your Majeſty make Peace with *Spain*, what the Conditions ſhall be; and how Your Majeſty ſhall be aſſur'd of their faithful performance of them.

And theſe fold up in them many Conſiderations of no ſmall Conſequence; and I hope your Majeſty's prudent Determination for the advantage of *England* and *Europe*, will make your Wiſdom ſo appear to the World, that it may be truly ſaid, *Quam Mirabilis ſit Copula Sapientiæ cum potentia: How admirable is the conjunction of Wiſdom and Power.* And becauſe it is alſo true, that *Nulli unquam Deus omnia*

dedit. That God never endu'd any one Man with all Things. Your Majesty must ease your Self in some part by the help of Council; for *Sapientia argumentum in principe Nullum Majus, quam sapientum virorum consilio uti. For a Prince to adhere to the advice and counsel of wise Men, is the greatest argument of his own wisdom.*

For my self, because I have presum'd thus far upon hope of your Majesty's gracious pardon, and favourable acceptance, being the meanest and unworthiest of all others I can say but this, *Si le sel unconseil donne, Je ne'n fais refus pour personne. If a Counsel appears good and seasonable, it will not be refus'd for his sake that gives it.*

I dare not Write all I desire; for I know not to whose Hands these may come; this I beseech your Majesty to know, that it proceed-

eth

eth from an humble and faithful Heart.

In this great buſineſs God direct your Majeſty's mind, *Agitur de Imperio Mundi. The Diſpute is no leſs then of the Government of the whole World, as to us.* When the Houſe is built, it is ill mending the foundation thereof.

God hath ſo bleſt your Majeſty in the ſituation of your Kingdoms, that the growth of any of your Neighbouring States depends upon your Majeſty's Election, whom you will aid and aſſiſt.

Your Majeſty may propound ſuch neceſſary Conditions both to the States, and the *Spaniſh* ſide, as you may break with either upon the Grounds both of Honour and Reaſon.

Now

Now no Man in this Caſe, can aſſure his Council, or undertake to give Judgment of the Succeſs; for according to *Ariſtotle*, *Omnia quæ veniunt in conſultationem talia ſunt, qualia poſſint aliter accidere. Every thing that comes under deliberation is of ſuch an uncertain Condition and Nature, that Things may happen quite different from what the wiſeſt Man could foreſee.*

But if your Majeſty be not affectionate to either Party, then no doubt, but your Majeſty will follow the way which appeareth to be moſt ſafe, moſt profitable, and moſt honourable.

And whoſoever loveth your Majeſty, will not only wiſh it, but withal preſent the little talent of his knowlege therein; for, *non tantum qui mutat Locum, ſed fugit qui ſe ſub ſilen-*

tio

tio abſcondit. For he that will be ſilent when he might declare and publiſh what may prove uſeful to your Majeſty's Government, does as much decline Your Service, as he that flies Your Kingdoms.

FINIS.

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

ORIGINAL

AND

Fundamental Cauſe

OF

Natural, Arbitrary, Neceſſary and Unnatural WAR.

Written by

Sir *WALTER RALEGH*, Knt.

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A

DISCOURSE

OF

War in General.

THE ordinary Theme and Argument of Hiſtory is War; which may be deſin'd the Exerciſe of Violence under Sovereign Command, againſt Withſtanders Force, Authority and Reſiſtance; being the Eſſential parts thereof: Violence limitted by Authority, is ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed from Robbery, and the like Outrage; yet conſiſting in relation towards others, it neceſſarily requires a ſuppoſition of Reſiſtance; whereby the force of War

becomes different from the Violence inflicted upon Slaves or yielding Malefactors. As for Arms, Diſcipline, and whatſoever elſe belongeth to the making of War proſperous, they are only conſiderable in degree of Perfection. Since naked Savages fighting diſorderly with Stones, by appointment of their Commanders, may truly and abſolutely be ſaid to War; nevertheleſs, 'tis true, that the Beaſts are armed with fierce Teeth, Paws, Horns, and other bodily Inſtruments, of much advantage to unweapon'd Men: So hath Reaſon taught Man to ſtrengthen his Hand with ſuch offenſive Arms as no Creature elſe can well avoid, or poſſibly reſiſt. And it might ſeem happy if the Sword, the Arrow, the Gun, with many terrible Engines of Death, could be wholly imploy'd in the ex-

exerciſe of that Lordly Rule which the Lord of all hath given to Mankind over the reſt of living things. But ſince in Human Reaſon there hath no means been found of holding all Mankind at Peace within it ſelf: 'Tis needful that againſt the Wit and Subtilty of Man, we oppoſe not only the brute force of our Bodies (wherein many Beaſts exceed us) but helping our Strength with Art and Wiſdom, ſtrive to excel our Enemies in thoſe Points, wherein Man is excellent over other Creatures.

The neceſſity of War, which among human Actions, is the moſt Lawleſs, hath ſome kind of affinity and near reſemblance with the neceſſity of Law: For there were no uſe either of War, or of Law; if every Man had Prudence to conceive how much of Right were due both to and from him-

himſelf; And were withal ſo punctually juſt as to perform what he knows requiſite, and to reſt contented with his own: But ſeeing our Conveyances of Land cannot be made ſo ſtrong by any skill of Lawyers, without multiplicity of Clauſes and Proviſoes, that it may be ſecure from Contentions, Avarice, and the malice of falſe ſeeming Juſtice; it is not to be wondred that the great Charter whereby God beſtow'd the whole Earth upon *Adam*, and confirmed it unto the Sons of *Noah*, being as brief in words, as large in effect; hath bred much Quarrel of Interpretation.

Gen. cap. 1. ver. 28.

Surely, howſoever the letter of that Donation may be unregarded by the moſt of Men; yet the ſenſe thereof is ſo imprinted in their Hearts, and ſo paſſionately embrac'd by their greedy deſires; as

if

if every one laid claim for himſelf, unto that, which was conferr'd upon all.

This appear'd in the *Gauls* falling upon *Italy* under their Captain *Brennus*, who told the *Roman* Ambaſſador plainly, *That prevalent Arms were as good as any Title. And that Valiant Men might account to be their own, as much as they could get: That theſe wanting Land wherewith to ſuſtain their People, and the* Tatienſes *having more than enough; it was their meaning, to take what they needed by ſtrong hand, if it were not yielded quietly.*

Now if it be well affirm'd by Lawyers, that there is no taking of Poſſeſſion more juſt then in *Vacuum venire*, to enter upon Land uninhabited (as our Countrymen have lately done in the *Sommer Iſlands*) then may it be inferr'd, that this demand of the *Gauls* held more of

Reaſon than could be diſcern'd at the firſt view.

For if the title of Occupiers be good in Land unpeopled; why ſhould it be bad accounted, in a Country Peopled over thinly? Should one Family, or one Thouſand hold poſſeſſion of all the *Southern* undiſcover'd Continent, becauſe they had ſeated themſelves in *Nova Guiana*, or about the Straights of *Magellane*? Why might not then the like be done in *Affrick*, in *Europe*, and in *Aſia*? If theſe were moſt abſurd to imagine, let then any Man's Wiſdom determine by leſſening the Territory, and increaſing the number of Inhabitants; what proportion is requiſite to the Peopleing of a Region in ſuch manner, that the Land ſhall neither be too narrow for thoſe whom it feedeth, nor capable of a greater multitude? Until

til this can be concluded and agreed upon, one main and fundamental cauſe of the moſt grievous War, as can be imagin'd, is not like to be taken from the Earth.

It was perhaps enough in Reaſon, to ſuccour with Victuals and other helps a vaſt multitude compell'd by neceſſity to ſeek a new Seat, or to direct them to a Country able to receive them. But what ſhall perſwade a mighty Nation to Travel ſo far by Land or Sea, over Mountains, Deſarts, and great Rivers with their Wives and Children, when they are (or think themſelves) powerful enough to ſerve themſelves nearer hand, and enforce others unto the labour of ſuch a Journey: * I have briefly ſhewed in another Work, that the Miſeries accompanying this kind of War, are moſt extream: Foraſmuch, as the

Gen. Hiſt. lib. 2. c. 2.

the Invaders cannot otherwiſe be ſatisfy'd then by rooting out, or expelling the Nation upon whom they fall.

And altho' the uncertainty of the Tenure by which all Worldly Things are held, miniſters very unpleaſant meditation; yet it is moſt certain, that within 1200 Years laſt paſt, all, or the moſt part of Kingdoms to us known, have truly felt the Calamities of ſuch forcible Tranſplantations; being either overwhelm'd by new Colonies that fell upon them, or driven as one Wave is driven by another to ſeek new Seats, having loſt their own.

Our *Weſtern* parts of *Europe* indeed, have great cauſe to rejoice, and give praiſe to God, for that we have been free above 600 years from ſuch Inundations as were thoſe of the *Goths* and *Vandals*; yea, from ſuch as were thoſe of our own

An-

Anceſtors, the *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*: But howſoever we have together with the feeling, loſt the memory of ſuch wretchedneſs as our Forefathers endur'd by thoſe Wars (of all others the moſt cruel;) yet are there few Kingdoms in all *Aſia*, that have not been ruin'd by ſuch overflowing multitudes within the ſame ſpace of theſe laſt 600 Years.

It were an endleſs labour to tell, how the *Turks* and *Tartars* falling like Locuſts upon that Quarter of the World, having ſpoil'd every where, and in moſt Places eaten up all by the roots, conſuming (together with the Princes formerly Reigning and a world of People) the very Names, Language, and Memory of former Times. Suffice it, that when any Country is overlaid by the multitude which live upon it; there is a natural neceſ-

ſity

ſity compelling it to disburden itſelf, and lay the load upon others, by right, or wrong; for (to omit the danger of Peſtilence, often viſiting them which live in Throngs) there is no miſery that urgeth Men ſo violently unto deſperate Courſes and contempt of Death, as the torments and threats of Famine: Wherefore the War that is grounded upon this general remedileſs Neceſſity, may be term'd, the general and remedileſs, or neceſſary War.

Againſt which, that our Country is beſt provided, as may be ſhewed hereafter, then any Civil Nation to us known, we ought to hold it a great Bleſſing of God, and carefully retain the Advantages He hath given us now.

Beſides, this remedileſs, or neceſſary War, which is not frequent; there is a VVar voluntary

ry and cuſtomable, unto which the offended Party is not compell'd: And this Cuſtomary War, which troubleth all the World, giveth little reſpite or breathing time of Peace; and doth uſually borrow pretence from the Neceſſity, to make it ſelf appear more honeſt; For covetous Ambition thinking all too little which at preſent it hath, ſuppoſeth it ſelf to ſtand in need of all, which it hath not.

Wherefore, if two bordering Princes have their Territories meeting in an open Campaign, the more mighty will continually ſeek occaſion to extend his Limits to the further border thereof.

If they be divided by Mountains, they will fight for the maſtery of the Paſſage of the Tops, and finally for the Towns that ſtand upon the Roots.

If

If Rivers run between them, they contend for the Bridges; and think themſelves not well aſſur'd, until they have fortify'd the further Bank.

Yea, the Sea it ſelf muſt be very broad, barren of Fiſh, and void of little Iſlands interjacent; elſe will it yeild plentiful argument of Quarrel to the Kingdoms which it ſerveth; all this proceeds from deſire of having; and ſuch deſire, from fear of VVant.

Hereunto may be added, That in theſe Arbitrary Wars, there is commonly to be found ſome ſmall meaſure of Neceſſity, tho' it ſeldom be obſerv'd; perhaps, becauſe it extendeth not ſo far as to become publick: For where many younger Sons, of younger Brothers, have neither Lands nor Means to uphold themſelves; and where

where many Men of Trade, or uſeful Profeſſion, know not how to beſtow themſelves for lack of Employ, there can it not be avoided, but that the whole Body of the State (howſoever otherwiſe healthfully diſpo'd) ſhould ſuffer anguiſh by the grievance of theſe ill-affected Members.

It ſufficeth, not that the Country hath wherewith to ſuſtain even more than lives upon it, if means be wanting, whereby to drive convenient participation of the general Store into a great number of well Deſervers.

In ſuch Caſes, there will be Complaining, Comiſeration, and finally murmure (as Men are apt to lay the blame of thoſe Evils whereof they know not the ground upon publick miſgovernment) unleſs order be taken for ſome redreſs by the Sword, of Injury

jury ſuppos'd to be done by Foreigners; whereto the Diſcontented ſort give commonly a willing ear: And in this regard, I think it was, that the great Cardinal, *Francis de Amiens*, who govern'd *Spain* in the minority of *Charles* V. hearing tell, that 8000 *Spaniards* were loſt in the Enterpriſe of *Algiers*, under *Don Diego de Vera*, made light of the matter, affirming, That *Spain ſtood in need of ſuch evacuations*. Foreign War, ſerving as (King *Ferdinand* had wont to ſay) *like a potion of Rhubarb to waſte away Choller from the body of the Realm*.

Certainly, among all Kingdoms of the Earth, we ſhall ſcarce find any that ſtand in leſs need than *Spain* of having the Veins open'd by an Enemy's Sword: The many Colonies it ſends abroad, ſo well preſerving it from ſwelling Humours; yet is not that Country there-

thereby diſpeopled; but maintaineth ſtill growing upon it (like a Tree from whom Plants have been taken to fill whole Orchards) as many as it can well nouriſh.

And to ſay what I think; if our King *Edward* III. had proſpered in his *French* Wars, and Peopled with *Engliſh* the Towns which he won, as he began at *Callice*, driving out the *French*; the Kings (as his Succeſſors) holding the ſame courſe, would by this time have filled all *France* with our Nation, without any notable emptying of this Iſland.

The like may be affirm'd upon like ſuſpicion, of the *French* in *Italy*, or almoſt of any others; as having been verify'd by the *Saxons* in *England*, and *Arabians* in *Barbary*: What is then become of ſo huge a multitude, as would have overſpread a great part of the Con-

tinent? Surely, they dyed not of Old-age; nor went out of the World by the ordinary ways of Nature; but Famine and Contagious Diſtempers, the Sword, the Halter; and a Thouſand miſchiefs have conſum'd them. Yea, of many of them, perhaps, Children were never born; for they that want means to nouriſh Children, will abſtain from Marriage; or (which is all one) they caſt away their Bodies upon rich old Women; or otherwiſe make unequal, or unhealthy Matches for gain; or becauſe of Poverty, they think it a Bleſſing, which in Nature is a Curſe, to have their Wives barren.

Were it not thus; Arithmetical Progreſſion might eaſily demonſtrate how faſt Mankind would encreaſe in multitude overpaſſing (as miraculous, tho' indeed natu-

ral) the Examples of the *Iſraelites*, who were multiplied in 215 Years from 70, unto 600000 able Men; hence we may obſerve, that the very progreſſion of our Kind, hath with it a ſtrong incentive even of thoſe daily Wars which afflict the whole Earth. And that Princes excuſing their drawing the Sword, by deviſed pretences of Neceſſity, ſpeak often more truly then they are aware; there being indeed a great neceſſity, tho' not apparent, as not extending to the generality; but reſting upon private Heads.

Wherefore other Cauſe of War, merely natural there is none: The want of room upon the Earth, which pincheth the whole Nation, begets the remidileſs War vexing only ſome number of particulars, it draws on the Arbitrary; But to the the kindling of Arbitrary War there are many other mo-

tives. The moſt honeſt of theſe, is fear of harm, and prevention of Danger; this is juſt and taught by Nature, which labours more ſtrongly in removing Evil, then in purſuit of what is requiſite unto Good: Nevertheleſs, becauſe VVar cannot be without natural Violence; it is manifeſt, that allegation of Danger, and Fear, ſerves only to excuſe the ſuffering party; the wrong-doer being carry'd by his own will; ſo that VVar thus cauſed proceeds from Nature not altogether, but in part.

A ſecond motive, is revenge of injury ſuſtain'd, this might be avoided, if all Men could be honeſt, otherwiſe not; for Princes muſt give Protection to their Subjects and Adherents, when worthy occaſion ſhall require it; elſe they will be held unworthy and inſufficient; then which, there

can

can be to them no greater peril.

Wherefore *Cæſar* in all deliberations where difficulties, and dangers threatned on one ſide, and the Opinion, that there ſhould be in him *parum præſidij* little ſafeguard for his Friends was doubted on the other ſide, always choſe rather to venture upon extremities, than to have it thought that he was a weak Protector: Yea, by ſuch maintenance of their Dependants, many Noblemen in all Forms of Government, and within every Man's Memory have kept themſelves in greatneſs with little help of any other Virtue.

Neither have meer Tyrants, been altogether careleſs to maintain free from Oppreſſion of Strangers, thoſe Subjects of theirs, whom themſelves have moſt baſely eſteem'd, and uſed as no better than Slaves; for there is no

Maſter that can expect good Service from his Bondſlaves, if he ſuffers them to be beaten and daily ill-entreated by other Men. To remedy this, it were needful that Juſtice ſhould every where be duly adminiſtred, as well to Strangers as to Denizens. But contrariwiſe, we find; That in many Countries (as *Muſcovy*, and the like) the Laws, or the Adminiſtration of them is ſo far from giving ſatisfaction, to ſtrangers as they fill the general Voice of them with Complaints and Exclamations.

Sir *Thomas Moor*, ſaid (whether more pleaſantly or truly, I know not) *That a Trick of Law, had no leſs power than the Wheel of Fortune, to lift Men up, or to caſt them down.*

Certainly, with more patience Men are wont to endure the Loſs that befel them by mere Caſualty, than

than the damage they ſuſtain by means of injuſtice, becauſe theſe are accompanied with ſenſe of indignity, whereof the other are free: When Robbers break into a Mens Houſes and ſpoil them, they tell the Owners plainly, That Money they want, and Money they muſt have. But when a Judge corrupted by reward, hatred, favour, or any other Paſſion takes both Houſe and Land from the rightful Owner, and beſtows them upon ſome Friend of his own, or of his Favorite, he ſays, That the Rule of Juſtice will have it ſo; that it is the Voice of the Law, and Ordinance of God himſelf: And whatelſe herein doth he, then by a kind of Circumlocution, tell his humble Suppliants, that he holds them Ideots, or baſe Wretches, not able to get relief: Muſt it not aſtoniſh and withal

vex any Man of a free Spirit, when he ſees none other difference betwen the Judge and the Thief, then in the manner of performing of their Exploits; as if the whole being of Juſtice conſiſted in point of Formality. In ſuch caſe, an honeſt Subject will either ſeek remedy by ordinary Courſes, or wait his time, till God ſhall place better Men in Office, and call the Oppreſſors to account. But a Stranger will not ſo; he hath nothing to do with the Affairs of *Barbary*, neither concerns it him, what Officers be placed, or diſplaced in *Taradante*; or whether *Muliſidian* himſelf can contain the Kingdom; his Ship and Goods are unjuſtly taken from him; and therefore he will ſeek leave to right himſelf if he can; and return the Injury ten-fold upon the whole Nation from which he received it.

Truth

Truth is, that Men are ſooner weary to dance attendance at the Gates of foreign Lords, than to tarry the good leiſure of their own Magiſtrates; nor do they bear ſo quietly the loſs of ſome parcel confiſcate abroad, as the greater detriment which they ſuffer by ſome prowling Vice-Admiral, Cuſtomer, or publick Miniſter at their return.

Whether this proceed from the Reverence which ſome Men yield to their Governors, I will not define; or whether exceſs of trouble in following their Cauſes from Home; or whether ſome deſpair of ſuch redreſs as may be expected in their own Country, in the hoped reformation of Diſorders; or whether from their more unwillingneſs to diſturb the Domeſtical, then the Foreign Quiet by loud Exclaimings; or whether, perhaps

haps their not daring to mutter againſt their own Rulers for Injuſtice (tho' it were ſhameful) for for fear of faring worſe, and for being puniſh'd for *Scandalum magnatum*, as Scandalers of Men in Authority : Whenceſoever it comes, as there can be but one Allegiance; ſo Men are apt to ſerve no more than they needs muſt; according to that of the Slave, in the old Comedy, *Non ſum ſervus publicus. My Maſter bought me for himſelf; and I am not every Man's Man.* And this Opinion, there is no Prince unwilling to maintain in his own Subjects; yea, ſuch as are moſt rigorous to their own; do never find it ſafe to be better unto Strangers, becauſe it were a matter of dangerous Conſequence, that the People ſhould think all other Nations to be in a better caſe than themſelves.

The

The brief is, Oppreſſion in many places, wears the Robe of Juſtice; which domineering over the Natives, may not ſpare Strangers; and Strangers will not endure, but cry out unto their own Lords for relief by the Sword. Wherefore this motive of revenging Injuries is very ſtrong, tho' it meerly conſiſt in the Will of Man, without any enforcement of Nature.

Yet the more to quicken it, there is uſually concurring with it a hopeful expectation of Gain; for of the amends recover'd, little or nothing returns to thoſe that have ſuffer'd the Wrong; bnt commonly all runs into the Princes Coffers.

Such Examples, as was that of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1569. of famous Memory, are very rare; Her Majeſty, when the Goods of our *Engliſh* Merchants were attack'd by the Duke of

of *Alva*, in the *Netherlands*, and by King *Philip* in *Spain*; Arreſted likewiſe the Goods of the *Low-Dutch*, here in *England*, that amounted to a greater value: Neither was She contented that Her Subjects ſhould right themſelves, as well as they could upon the *Spaniards* by Sea; but having brought King *Philip* within 4 or 5 Years to better reaſon, tho' not ſo far as to Reſtitution; She ſatisfy'd her own Merchants to the full for all their Loſſes, out of the *Dutchmens* Goods; and gave back to the Duke what was remaining.

Anno 1573.

This, among many Thouſands of her Royal Deeds, made her Glorious in all Nations; tho' it cauſed even Strangers in their Speeches and Writings, to extoll her Princely Juſtice to the Skyes; yet ſerved it not for a Preſident for others of leſs Vertue to follow.

It

It were more coſtly to take pattern from thoſe Acts which gave immortal Renown to that great Queen, then to imitate the thirſty dealing of that *Spaniſh* Duke in the ſelf ſame buſineſs, who kept all to his own uſe, or his Maſter's, reſtoring to the poor *Dutch* Merchants not one Penny: It falls out many times indeed, that a Prince is driven to ſpend far more of his Treaſure in puniſhing by War the Wrongs of his People, than the loſs of his People do amount unto. In ſuch Caſes, it is reaſon that he ſatisfy himſelf, and let the People (whereto commonly they are apt) reſt contented with the ſweetneſs of Revenge.

But when Victory makes large amends for all, it Royally becomes a Prince to ſatisfy thoſe, for whoſe ſatisfaction he undertook the War: Far beſides the purpoſe it were now, to teach how Victory ſhould be

be uſed; or the Gains thereof communicated to the general content; this being only brought in to ſhew, That the profit thereby gotten, is a ſtrong provocation to the redreſs of Injuries by the Sword.

As for the redreſs of Injuries done unto Princes themſelves, it may conveniently (tho' not always, for it were miſerable Injuſtice to deny leave to Princes of maintaining their Honour) be reſerv'd unto the third motive of Arbitrary Wars; which is meer Ambition.

This is, and ever hath been the true cauſe of more Wars, then have troubled the World upon all other Occaſions whatſoever; tho' it leaſt partake of Nature, and urgent neceſſity of State. I call not here alone by the name of Ambition, that Vain-glorious Humour, which openly profeſſeth to be none

other

other, and vaunts it ſelf as an imperial Virtue ; for the Examples are not many of that kind : But where occaſion of War is greedily ſought, or being very ſlight is gladly entertain'd, for that increaſe of Dominion is hoped thereby; we ſhould rather impute the War to the *Scope* at which it aimeth, than to any idle Cauſe pretended.

The *Romans* feared, leſt they of *Carthage* by winning *Meſſina*, ſhould ſoon get the Maſtery over all *Sicily*, and have a fair entrance at pleaſure into *Italy*; which to prevent, they made War upon the *Carthiginians* : This Fear, I call Ambition ; had they not truſted in their own Arms, hoping thereby to enlarge their Empire ; but being weaker and more affraid indeed, they would have feared leſs.

For

For Colour of this War, they took the *Mamertines*, a Crew of Thieves and Cut-throats into their Protection, whom being their Associates, they muſt needs defend; but had not their Ambition been mightier then their Juſtice, they would have endeavour'd to puniſh the *Mamertines*, and not to protect them. Innumerable are the like Examples; *Know ye not* (ſaid *Ahab) that Ramoth-gilead is ours?* He knew this before, and was quiet enough, till opinion of his Forces made him look unto his Right: And of this nature (tho' ſome worſe then other in degree) are Claims of old forgotten Tribute; or of ſome Acknowledgments, due perhaps, to the Anceſtors of a vanquiſh'd King, and long after challeng'd by the Heirs of the Conqueror. Broken Titles to Kingdoms or Provinces; main-

tainance of Friends and Partizans, pretended Wrongs, and indeed, whatſoever it pleaſeth him to alledge, that thinks his own Sword ſharpeſt. But of old time, perhaps, before *Hellen* of *Greece* was born, Women have been the common Argument of the Tragedies; as of late Ages in our Parts of the World, ſince the Names of the *Guelfes* and *Ghibelines* were heard, the Rights of St. *Peter*, that is, the Pope's Revenues and Authority; this laſt and others of the ſame kind, I know not how patiently they will endure to be ranged amongſt ambitious Quarrellers; for the War that hath ſuch Foundations, will not only be imputed free from worldly Ambition, juſt and honourable, but holy and meritorious, having thereto belonging Pardon of Sins, Releaſe from Purgatory, and the Promiſe of the

Life to come, as may be ſeen in the Pope's *Croiſada*.

The Truth is, that the *Saracens* affirm no leſs of the Wars which they make againſt Chriſtians, or which ariſe betwixt themſelves from difference of Sect, and if every Man had his Due, I think, that the Honour of deviſing firſt this Doctrine, (*viz.*) That Religion ought to be enforced upon Men by the Sword, would be found appertaining to *Mahomet*, the falſe *Prophet*. Sure it is, that he and the *Caliphes* following him, obtained thereby in ſhort ſpace a mighty Empire, which was in a fair way to have enlarged it ſelf until they fell out amongſt themſelves, not for the Kingdom of Heaven, but for Dominion upon Earth: And againſt this did the Popes, when their Authority grew powerful in the *Weſt*, incite the *Princes of Germany*

many, *England*, *France*, and *Italy*; their chief Enterprise was the Recovery of the *Holy Land*, in which worthy, but extream difficult Action, it is lamentable to remember, what abundance of noble Blood hath been shed with very small Benefit to the Christian State.

The Recovery of *Spain*, whereof the better part was then in Bondage of the *Saracens*, had been a Work more available to the Men of *Europe*, more easily maintained with Supply, more aptly serving to advance any following Enterprise upon Kingdoms further removed, more free from Hazard, and requiring less Expence of Blood; but the honourable Piety of the Undertakers, could not be terrify'd by the Face of Danger, nor diverted from this, to a more commodious Business, by any Motives of Profit or Facility; for the

Pulpit did ſound in every Church with the Praiſes of that Voyage; as it were a Matter far leſs highly pleaſing unto God, to bear Arms for Defence of his Truth againſt Perſecutors, or for the Deliverance of poor Chriſtians oppreſſed with Slavery; than to fight for that ſelf ſame Land, wherein our Bleſſed Saviour was born and died. By ſuch Perſwaſions, a marvellous Number were excited to the Conqueſt of *Paleſtina*, which with ſingular Virtue they performed; tho' not without exceeding great Loſs of Men, and held that Kingdom ſome few Generations.

But the Climate of *Syria*, the far diſtance from the Strength of Chriſtendom, and the near neighbourhood of thoſe who were the moſt puiſſant amongſt the *Mahometans*, cauſed that famous Enterpriſe, after a long continuance of a ter-

terrible War, to be quite abandoned.

The Care of *Jeruſalem* being laid aſide, it was many times thought needful to repreſs the growing Power of the *Turk*, by the joint Forces of all the Chriſtian Kings and Commonwealths; and hereto the Popes have uſed much Perſwaſions, and often publiſhed in their *Croiſada*, with Pardon of Sins to all that would adventure in a Work ſo religious, yet have they effected little or nothing, and leſs perhaps are ever like to do; for it hath been their Cuſtom ſo ſhamefully to miſuſe the fervent Zeal of Men to religious Arms, by converting the Moneys which they have levyed for ſuch Wars to their own Services, and by ſtirring up Chriſtians one againſt another, yea, againſt their own natural Princes, under the like pretence of ſerving God

and the Church ; that finally, Men waxed weary of their turbulent Spirits, and would not believe that God was careful to maintain the Pope in his Quarrels, or that Remiſſion of Sins paſt, was to be obtained, by committing more, and more grievous, at the Inſtigation of his ſuſpected Holineſs.

Queſtionleſs, there was great Reaſon, why all diſcreet Princes, ſhould beware of yielding haſty Belief to the Robes of Sanctimony,

It was the Rule of our Bleſſed Saviour, *By their Works ye ſhall know them*: What the Works of thoſe that occupy the Papacy have been ſince the Days of *Pippin* and *Charlamaine*, who firſt enabled them with temporal Donation (the *Italian* Writers have teſtified at large) yet were it needleſs to recite *Machiavel* who hath recorded their Doings,

Doings, and is therefore the more hateful; or *Guiccardine*, whoſe Works they have guelded, as not enduring to hear all that he hath written; tho' he ſpake enough in that which remains.

What Hiſtory ſhall we read (except the Annals of *Cæſar Baronius*, and ſome Books of Fryars and Fryerly Paraſites) which mentioning their Acts, doth not leave Witneſſes of their ungodly Dealings in all Quarters.

How few Kingdoms are there (if any) wherein by diſpenſing with Oaths, transferring the Right of Crowns; abſolving Subjects from Allegiance; and Curſing; and threatning to Curſe; ſo long as their Curſes were regarded, they have not wrought unprofitable Miſchiefs?

The Shameleſs denial hereof by ſome of their Friends, and the

more ſhameleſs Juſtification by their Flatterers makes it needful to exemplify which I had rather forbear as not loving to deal in ſuch contentious Arguments, were it not Folly to be modeſt in uttering what is known to all the World: Pity it is, that by ſuch Demeanour they have cauſed the Church (as *Hierom Savanarolla*, and before him, *Robert Groſthead*, Bp. of *Lincoln* propheſy'd) to be propagated by the Sword; but God would have it ſo.

How far the Pope's Bleſſing did ſanctify the Enterpriſe upon *Jeruſalem*, it reſts in every Man's Diſcretion to judge.

And for the honourable Chriſtians which undertook that Conqueſt, to juſtifie their War, they had not only the Redreſs of Injuries, and Protection of their oppreſſed Brethren, but the repelling of

of Danger from their own Land, threatned by thoſe Misbelievers whom they Invaded.

If the Pope's Extortions (which were not more forcible than thoſe of *Peter* the Hermit's) added Spirit unto the Action, yet alter'd they not the Grounds of the War, nor made it the more holy. Let the Indulgences of Pope *Leo* the 10*th*. bear Witneſs of this, who out of politick Fear of the *Turks* Violence, urged a religious Contribution towards a War to be made upon them; the Neceſſity of that which he propounded, was greater doubtleſs, than any that had perſwaded the Conqueſt of *Paleſtina*.

But too foul and manifeſt was the unholineſs of obtruding upon Men Remiſſion of Sins for Money; That the Sums which Pope *Leo* thereby raiſed and converted to his own Uſe, have made his Succeſ-

ſors

ſors Loſers by the Bargain, even to this Day.

Pope Pius II. formerly well known by the Name of *Æneus Sylvius*, was deſervedly reckoned amongſt the few good *Popes* of latter Ages; who nevertheleſs in a War of the ſame religious Nature, diſcovered the like (tho' not the ſame) Imperfection: His *Purpoſe* was to ſet upon *Mahomet* the great, who had newly won the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, and by carrying the War over into *Greece*, to prevent the Danger threatning *Italy*.

In this Action highly commendable, he intended to hazard his own *Perſon*, that ſo the more eaſily he might win Adventurers, who elſe were like to be leſs favoured, as not unacquainted with ſuch *Romiſh* Tricks; yet was not his own Devotion ſo zealous in purſuit of this holy Buſineſs, but that he would

would ſtay a while, and convert his Forces againſt *Malateſta*, a Lord of *Rimini*; letting *Scanderberg* wait his leiſure, who had already ſet the War on foot in *Greece*; For (ſaid he) *We muſt firſt ſubdue the little* Turk, *before we meddle with the Great*; he ſpake Reaſon, if we regard *P*olicy. But attending only to Religion, find we not that he held the Chaſtiſement of one which moleſted the See of *Rome*, alike pleaſing to God, as would have been the Holy War againſt the common Enemy of our Chriſtian Faith; ſo thought all the reſt of thoſe Biſhops, and ſo much more (upon their ſeveral Occaſions) declare themſelves to think it, by how much they commonly were worſe Men than this *Æneas Sylvius*. And good Reaſon was there, that they ſhould be of ſuch Belief, or endeavour to make the Chriſtian World

World believe no otherwiſe, for the natural Conſtitution of their Eſtate (I mean ſince the Age of of *Pipin* and *Charlamain*, or the Times not long before-going) hath urged them all hitherto; tho' peradventure ſome few Popes may have been overuled, by their own private Nature, and thereby have ſwerved from the Rule of Policy.

To ſpeak in general, Whoſoever hath Dominion abſolute, over ſome one Authority; leſs abſolute over many more; will ſeek to draw thoſe that are not wholly his own, into intire Subjection.

It fares with politick Bodies, as with phyſical; each would convert all into their own proper Subſtance, and caſt forth as Excrements, what will not be changed.

We necd not cite *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, nor *Philip* the Father of *Perſius*, Kings of *Mace-*

Macedon, for Examples; of which the former brought the *Theſſalonians*; the latter, would have brought the *Achaians*, and many Eſtates in *Greece* from the Condition of Followers, and Dependants, into meer Vaſſalage.

Philip II. of *Spain* is yet freſh in mind, who attempted the ſelf ſame upon the *Netherlands*.

Exceptions may be framed here againſt this, out of the honeſt, quiet, or timorous Diſpoſition of ſome Princes; yet that all, or the moſt, are thus inclined, both Reaſon and Experience teach; yea, even our Cities and Corporations here in *England*, ſuch as need the Protection of great Men, complain otherwhiles of their Patrons overmuch Diligence, either in ſearching into their private Eſtates; or behaving themſelves Maſter-like in Point of Government. But never hath

hath Authority better Means to enlarge it ſelf, than when it is founded upon Devotion: And yet never doth Authority of this kind Work to raiſe it ſelf upon meer Dominion; until it fall into the hands of thoſe, whoſe Piety is more in ſeeming, than in Deed.

OF

OF UNNATURAL WAR.

THE laſt kind of War we ſhall treat of, is the *Unnatural*, otherwiſe called the *Inteſtine*, or *Civil War*; and tho' it has the ſame Motives of Ambition, Avarice, or Revenge, as the Arbitrary and Cuſtomary War, yet is of a quite different Nature, and muſt be otherwiſe defined; for that is to uſe Arms to redreſs Injuries, to Conqueror, oppoſe Strangers under Soveraign Authority. But this is to ſlay and oppreſs our Countrymen,

men, our Friends, and even our own Relations without Injury offer'd tho' pretended to gratify ſome exorbitant Paſſion upon the Publick, under no Authority or legal Command; but directly contrary and oppoſite to the Sovereign Power, and to the very Being of Society it ſelf: For a Member of a Community, or civil Society, has no more Right to diſturb the whole upon any Failure (if any be) than he has to cut his own Throat, becauſe ſome part of his Body offends him. And under this Principle ſo founded in Nature, if Men did not acquieſce, the World would be in a conſtant Uproar. Since the beſt and eaſieſt Government is juſt as far from being perfect, as the Men are that compoſe it.

How vain then is it to be diſturbed at that, whoſe Cauſe is beyond our ſelves.

Tacitus

Tacitus ſays we ought to ſubmit to what is preſent, and ſhould wiſh for good Princes, but whatſoever they are endure them, and *Machiavel* terms this a Golden Sentence, adding, that whoſoever do's otherwiſe, Ruins both himſelf and Country: Certain it is, the condition of no Nation was ever bettered by a Civil War, for when the People and the Government draw the Sword againſt each other, all former Compacts and Agreements for ſecuring of Liberty and Property are diſſolved, and become void; for flying to Arms is a ſtate of War, which is the meer ſtate of Nature of Men out of Community, where all have an equal right to all things, and I ſhall enjoy my Life, my Subſtance, or what is dear to me, no longer then he that has more Cunning, or is Stronger than I, will give me leave; for

Natural Conſcience is not a ſufficient Curb to the violent Paſſions of Men out of the Laws of Society. And the few that ſhall ſurvive the Calamities and Devaſtations that Ambition or Revenge ſhall make in Civil Diſſention, muſt ever after ſubmit to the Arbitrary Power of the Conquering Party. Now under what Civil Stipulations and Covenants can a People be, with their Governors that can put them in a worſe condition than this. And that any particular Government is now *Jure Divino* is hard to affirm, and of no great uſe to Mankind. For let the Govenment of my Country where I am a Subject is by Divine Inſtitution, or by Compact, I am equally bound to obſerve its Laws, and endeavour its Proſperity. For, take it to be true what *Plato* ſays. *Qui legibus pie & prudenter latis inſer-*

ſervit, inſervit deo. [that the Duty I owe to God obliges me to conform to the Laws of my Country which are for the orderly and well-being of every individual.] For God is the God of Order and Harmony and not Confuſion. Alſo the Schools affirm, that *leges humane obligant conſcientiam*; [that the Conſciences of Men are bound by Humane Laws.]

I'll only mention more the undeniable Authority of Scripture, which plainly commands us to *Submit to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's ſake*, [that is, Obey the Laws of Men where the Law of God is ſilent,] and were not Mankind thus Obliged, all Governments of Church and State would ſoon fall into Confuſion. 1 *Pet.* 2. 13.

And if the Divines do rightly infer from the Sixth Command-

mandment (*Thou ſhalt not Kill*,) That Scandalizing ones Neighbour with falſe and malicious Reports, whereby I vex his Spirit, and conſequently impair his Health, is a degree of Murther.

I may affirm, that Factions Rumours and Diſcourſes, which alienate the minds of People, and Impeach and weaken the Govenment is a degree of Treaſon, and conſequenty a breach of the Fifth Commandment.

I know 'tis ſaid, tho' a People, leaving the State of Nature have entred into a Community, and made Laws, as they juſtly may to preſerve that Community; which Laws are to be Obeyed under the penalty of diſpleaſing God himſelf, yet the Adminiſtrators of thoſe Laws being viſibly and incurably defective in preſerving the whole, may be removed, For, (*cujus eſt*

dare,

dare, ejus eſt diſponere. Where the People have no ſuch Right, they have loſt all Liberty.

Therefore Wiſe Governors will not bear hard upon the People, for when publick Abuſes come to the height, that the Generality are ſenſible of them, and the true Majority have a mind to Diſcharge ſuch from the Government. Whither ſingle perſon, or Council; I know not who ſhall prevent it, or againſt what Law they Offend, ſince no Prince can ſhew a Patriarchal Right, and a Community is under Conditions.

I only mention theſe two laſt Paragraphs as the utmoſt the moſt zealous Advocates can urge for the Power of the People, and it amounts to no more than this; where the Perſon or Perſons Poſſeſſing the Supream Power are incurably defective. And this plain-

ly appears to the Majority of the People, they have a Right to change the ſame: I think naturally they muſt, but even the Majority it ſelf where there is no ſuch plain dangerous defect, cannot in Right remove the Perſons and alter the ſame, for then all Governments every day would be at the Will and Pleaſure of the People, and I am ſure Arbitrarineſs in a Multitude is far more dangerous than in a Single Perſon: The experience of all Ages has found this to be true.

It is no wonder that the publick Actions and Affairs of State ſhould meet with many Cenſures and Enemies, ſince few Men can gain their own inward approbation of what they daily do themſelves. So contradictory do paſſions make Men act to their own Reaſon and Conſcience. It was a home Reproof our Saviour gave the Scribes and

Phari-

Phariſees when they ſeemed forward to have the Woman Stoned that was taken in Adultery. (*Let him that is without Sin caſt the firſt Stone.*) Self Conviction forc'd the *Phariſees* to withdraw, and leave the Woman without Accuſers. I therefore ſay, whoever impartially conſiders the corruptions of his own heart, the many failings of his undeaſtanding, and is not very tender in opening and manifeſting the Crimes and Failings of others, wants the modeſty even of theſe Scribes & Phariſees, and may expect a ſharper Reproof. It's an admirable Direction, much known, but little conſidered, that *Thales* left as the Characteriſtick of his Wiſdom, *Noſce te ipſum*, Friend, know thy ſelf; It's a hard point, and not every where found. We labour hard to publiſh our Abilities, and conceal our Infirmites.

And our inquiry into our ſelves is ſo ſlight and partial, that few Men are really what they appear to themſelves to be. The vain Opiniater in purſuit of ſome extravant hopes, involves himſelf in innumerable intricacies and hazardous circumſtances, driven by the force of Paſſion, from the dictates of Reaſon and the common Paths of Senſe falls into inevitable Calamities; and having thus expos'd himſelf, clamours againſt Providence for being unfortunate. Theſe being not a ſmall number are always ready to joyn with any Party in Civil Diſſentions, whereby they hope either to mend their Condition, or get a good excuſe for the bad one they are in.

The inſatiable Minds of Men impatient under what's Preſent, fond of any Alteration, Headed by thoſe that will be under no Dominion

minion but that of Avarice, Ambition, or Revenge, are the original cauſe of thoſe Calamittes a Civil-War brings upon a Nation. And when we ſay we are fallen into Bad Times, we mean no otherwiſe, but that we are fallen amongſt a wicked Generation of Men. For the Sun, the mediate vivifying Cauſe of all things here below, and conſtant meaſurer of Time keeps its ſteady Courſe. The Condition of the Publick grows worſe as Men grow more wicked. For in all Ages, as the Morals of Men were depraved, and Vice encreaſed, the Commonwealth declined.

All Kingdoms being but the connexion of Families, the Prince thereof is truly termed the Father of the Country, the grand *Pater familias*, the great Maſter of the Houſhold. Now if the Domeſticks of

a Family be over-run with the deadly ſin of Pride and Luxury, Sloth and Rapine: It is a fair ſign of its utter Ruine. Thus in the larger Rule of Government there is the like dangers of Ruine. Where the Miniſters and Publick Officers who are the hands of a Nation, are baſely corrupted, ſerving the Publick no farther than it ſerves their own Intereſt, and ſo they do but gain themſelves, care not who loſes, or what the Government ſuffers. Theſe ſeeming Friends are the worſt of Enemies. They had better never have been born, they are as the corrupt Tree which cannot bring forth good fruit, abſolute Strangers (in practice) to Prudence. Juſtice, and the other Vertues rightly called Cardinal. For upon the obſervance of them does the Safety and Proſperity of Mankind depend. That ever ſuch

Men

Men ſhould be preferred is a neglect in any Government; for there can be no Merit in any Man that wants Honeſty. It's ſaid for excuſe that the heart of *M*an cannot be known before tryal, but the behaviour of a *M*an in an Employment may be well gueſs'd at, by the manner of his getting himſelf in: for if he owes his Advance to *M*oney or Favour purely, than was there no regard to Ability and *M*erit; and what Corruption muſt be expected in an Office where ſo worthleſs a perſon is poſſeſſor of it? Wiſe Men will aſſent that the wel-fare of a Kingdom principally depends upon the Honeſty and Ability of its Officers, where ſuch are wanting, and the contrary employed, there will be hardſhips and complaints, and abettors eaſily found to raiſe from thence Commotions and Civil Diſſentions.

It

It will hardly be found upon ſtrict examination, that any of the many Civil Wars that Hiſtory ſpeaks of, had their riſe purely from open Abuſes in the Government. For when publick Abuſes become ſo Notorious that the People are univerſally grieved and affected therewith, how can ſuch a Government gain a party ſtrong enough to make a Civil War, ſince we cannot ſuppoſe any conſiderable number of men can be ſo ſenſeleſs as to Fight for thoſe that abuſe them. And if the Generality perceive themſelves neceſſarily obliged to alter the Adminiſtrators of a Government, as it may be done by Right, ſo it will be done without Blood-ſhed. It follows then, the ſubtilty uſed towards ſome weak men joyned with others, over-ruled by the Wealth and Authority of ſome great ambitious per-

perſons is the main Foundation of all Civil Blood-ſhed. It may be affirmed, the number of thoſe that have been Slaughtered by their Fellow-Creatures, exceed the number of all the Inhabitants that ever were at one time living upon the Face of the Earth, yet very few of this infinite number thus untimely ſlain were ever maſters of the grounds of the Diſpute for which they ſuffered, or the true reaſon of their being led to the Battle, the Truth with much Artifice being kept from all but what were *P*artys to the Deſign reſolved on. What deluded wretches then have a great part of Mankind been, who have either yielded themſelves to be ſlain in Cauſes, which if truly known, their heart would abhorr, or been the Bloody Executioners of other Men's Ambition. It's a hard Fate to be ſlain for

what

what a Man ſhould never willingly fight; yet few Soldiers have laid themſelves down in the Bed of Honour under better circumſtances. It was not Ignorance made *Monluc*, Marſhal of *France* confeſs, that if the Mercies of God were not Infinite, none of his Profeſſion could expect any.

And becauſe many peoples minds are better engaged by Examples out of Hiſtory than by direction and precept, I'll mention ſome few Inſtances as related by the moſt known Authors for the truth of the propoſition here aſſerted. Hiſtory doth plainly tell us, that that Furious War (which broke out in *France*) in the Reign of *Francis* II. and which occaſioned moſt Barbarous Murthers, Devaſtations, and ſuch other Calamities) which are the common products of Civil Commotions, and

and by continuing near forty years had reduc'd *France* to the laſt Miſery) was begun and carried on by ſome few Great *Men* of Ambitious and Turbulent Spirits, deluding the *People* with the Cloak and *Maſque* only of Religion, to gain their Aſſiſtance to what they did more eſpecially aim at. 'Tis plain the Admiral *Coligny* adviſed the *Prince* of *Conde* to ſide with the *Hugonots*, not only out of love to their Perſwaſion, but to gain a *Party*, and be made thereby the ſtronger; neither can any *Man* think that the Papiſts out of a Principle of the Chriſtian Religion which enjoyns us to be Meek and Charitable, did in few days ſpace cut the Throats of near 30000 Proteſtants in *France*, many of whom were Men of great Fame and Quality, but out of fear of their Numbers and Power, theſe being

being removed they made ſure of graſping to themſelves all Rule and Dominion. So that this *Pariſian* Maſſacre had no more Religion in it than the *Sicilian* Veſpers, when in two hours time all the *French* throughout the whole Kingdom of *Sicily* were at once with great Barbarity Maſſacred, for no other reaſon but that the *Sicilians* might get their Room.

It's a ſevere Fate for a *P*eople to be overcome by Enemies, who fight not to encreaſe their Subjects and enlarge their Dominions, but to lay waſt their Enemies Cities, deſtroy their People, and to extirpate their very Name and Being from the Face of the Earth, and ſuch was the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*, they were ſo equal in Wealth and Power, that one ſeemed to eclipſe the growing greatneſs of the other, being competi-

tors

tors for that Soveraignty, which, unleſs one was totally deſtroy'd, the other could never abſolutely have. The diſcerning Princes of *Carthage* clearly ſaw this, and no doubt upon this account it was, that *Amilcar*, who himſelf had ſaved them, made his Son *Hannibal* ſwear, while but Nine Years old to purſue *Rome* with immortal hatred, at Twenty-ſix he is made General of the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain*, upon Succeſſes there he leaves the Command of *Spain* to *Aſdrubal* his Brother, paſſing himſelf into *Italy*, convincing the *Romans* he was as ready to Aſſault as they. The care he had for his Country, (which true honour always prefers before any private Intereſt) made him deſpiſe the dangers he was ſure to meet with there, and after many ſharp Encounters, in ſome of which he was dangerouſly wound-

ed, and tedious Marches, in one of which, paſſing the *Apenine* Mountains by Severity of Weather he loſt the uſe of one eye. He gaines the Character of a great Commander, both for the perfection of his Military skill, and greatneſs of his Spirit, this made him Fear'd abroad, and much Honour'd at home. But Envie, that always attends great Merit, not as a Friend to ſupport, but as a Spie to betray, began to draw a black Cloud over *Hannibal's* performances with ſiniſter Suggeſtions, which encreaſed equally with his riſing Fame. So that after his Glorious Succeſs at the Battel of *Canna*, where he totally overthrew the *Roman* Army, his Enemies growing impatient at the great Honours which he continually obtained by the happy progreſs of his Arms, tho' managed with as much Faithfulneſs to his Coun-

Country as Bravery towards his Enemies, were resolved to Ruine him whatever the Publick suffer'd by it; hereupon *Hanno*, an ungrateful Noble-man of that *Carthage*, for whose Liberty *Hannibal* had fought so many Battels with his envious Accomplices, when Account was given of *Hanniball*'s Proceedings and Victories to the *Carthaginian* Senate, and that he only wanted those Supplies which he then demanded to March even to the Walls of *Rome*; his Victory at *Canna* having laid the way open, so managed the matter in the Senate out of pure Malice to *Hannibal*'s Person, that Succours were neglected to be sent, whereby the *Romans* gained more advantage than all their Armies could do; and *Hanniball* not only lost the opportunity of being Master of that City, which boasted to be the Mi-

ſtreſs of the World, but ſaw the *Carthaginian* Intereſt in a fair way of being utterly loſt, which they would not ſee themſelves till it was too late to prevent. For as Authors allow it probable, that if *Hannibal* had receiv'd ſuitable Supplies to his Occaſions and Requeſt, he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the Roots. So the defects of Men and Money muſt not only hinder his advancing, but muſt neceſſarily make him loſe ground; and being made unfortunate, he muſt be made culpable, and ſo his Enemies procur'd his being call'd home for not doing what they had contriv'd he ſhould not, he receiv'd the Meſſage with much concern, abominating the baſe Treachery his Enemies had acted toward their own Country as well as him, crying out, that *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, and not *Scipio* the *Roman* had de-

deſtroyed *Carthage*. Upon his departure the *Romans* appointed an Holiday for thanks to the Gods, ackowledging, a Braver Officer could not be employed againſt them. In a little time the *Romans* became Maſters of all, even of the Liberties of *Carthage* it ſelf, upon whom they impoſed Baſe and Servile Conditions, the juſt fruits of their uſage of *Hannibal*.

Carthage being thus Betrayed by a Faction at Home, whoſe Safety *Hannibal* had often preferr'd before his Life, but being now made uncapable of Serving thoſe he loved beſt, his honeſt Country-men; to avoid the being an Eye-witneſs of their Miſeries, and himſelf being taken and made the Reproach and Scorn of his Inſultiug Enemies; he withdrew into *Aſia*, truſts himſelf with *Pruſſias*, King of *Bithynia*, whom the *Romans* preſently De-

mand as their moſt ſpiteful Enemy; whereupon, this wretched King, to content the *Romans*, contrary to the Laws of Hoſpitality and Faith given, ſet a Guard about *Hannibal*'s Lodgings, who ſeeing himſelf incloſed and hemmed in, took Poiſon, which he always carried about him: Thus died through Ambitious Envie that devours it ſelf and all about it, the Faithfulleſt Subject that ever Country had, and one of the greateſt Captains that ever the World Bred, Unfortunate, but Famous.

Carthage ſoon found its Period, when in the *Roman*'s Power, and *Hannibal* its Defender was remov'd, and the ſooner becauſe the *Romans* conſidered that the Maſtery of *Carthage* was not ſo much owing to their Arms as the Faction within it ſelf: Thus their Fears deſtroy'd what the Envy of others had betray'd

tray'd: For *Paterculus* their own Author ſays. *Neque ſe Romam ſecuram ſperavit fore, ſi nomen uſquam ſtantis maneret* Carthaginis. That *Rome* was not ſecure while *Carthage* was in being; and the ſame Author ſays, after reciting that *Scipio* had raiz'd the very Foundations of that Famous City. *Hunc finem habuit* Romani Imperii Carthago *Æmula*. This was the Fate of *Carthage* the Competitor of *Rome*'s Greatneſs.

It is confeſs'd by all, that the Gall and Rancour which were rais'd in *Hanno* at thoſe Merits in others, which he in no wiſe could pretend to, were the cauſe of the utter Deſtruction of this Populous and Rich City of *Carthage*, once equal to *Rome* for Power and Wealth, and for Antiquity Superior, its Foundation being ſixty five years older

than that of *Rome*'s. It might be uſeful to ſet out and delineate to Mankind the Arts and Diſguiſes, the falſe Topicks and Mediums that *Hanno* and ſuch Factious Perſons as he muſt uſe to make their Venomous Intentions and Falſe Reaſonings paſs undiſcovered by a wiſe Senate.

I know there are ſome Hiſtorians of good credit, that lay the blame of retarding the Supply to be ſent to *Hannibal*, which loſt *Carthage*, to the natural ſparing humour of the *Carthaginians*; but it do's not ſeem probable to me, that the *Carthaginians* after ſo many Bloody and Expenſive Wars with the *Romans*, more to defend than enlarge their Territories in this laſt War, wherein both Parties ſeem'd determin'd to have all their Differences finally decided by the Fortune of War, reſolving to be either

Slaves

Slaves or Conquerors, ſhould ſuffer the greateſt Victory they ever obtained, or that the *Romans* ever loſt to be of no effect and advantage through unſeaſonable Avarice. Certainly the Fatality of *Carthage* proceeded from a Faction at home, which will eat the very Heart of the ſtrongeſt conſtituted Government, and may be never be perceived till it is paſt recovery.

'Tis remarkable that in this War alſo the *Romans* had ſome baſe Spirits among them, who to make themſelves Popular, had run *Rome* into great Hazard of receiving the ſame Fate from the *Carthaginians*, which *Carthage* received after from the *Romans*; and 'tis no mean Inſtance of the Mutability of Humane Affairs, that *Romes* from a low and deſpairing condition ſhould in a little time be able to tread upon their Conquerors; and

Car-

Carthage from the higheſt Succeſſes, fall ſo low as to be deny'd the freedom of being a People in the World; this looks as if ſome were to have the ſhew of Happineſs only, that their Miſery may ſeem the ſharper; warning us, That when Fortune comes Smiling, ſhe often deſigns the moſt Miſchief. In truth, their Misfortune proceeded from beeing wiſe too late, they did not know the Cauſes till the Effects were paſt. *So ſero ſapiunt Phryges*, Experience is not worth the coſt, and to buy Wiſdom at ones own Ruin is like buying a NobleMedicine to cure the Diſeaſes of a Man that is dead.

But to mention the Stories which ſhew that baſe Men of little Ability may be popular in a Government, and that it is dangerous when they are ſo: *M. Centenius Penula*, (whom *Machiavel* calls a very

ry baſe Fellow,) after *Hannibal* had been in *Italy* eight or ten years, and had filled the whole Country with Bloody Slaugters of the *Romans*, to the great Terror of *Rome* it ſelf, being ſwelled to a great conceit of himſelf by the airy applauſes and opinions of the Vulgar, had the confidence to enter the Senate, offering, that if they would give him Authorityto Levy an Army, he would in a ſhort time deliver into their hands *Hannibal* either dead or alive; the Senate thought his demand very raſh, but conſidering how acceptable ſuch a Propoſal would ſound in the ears of the People durſt not deny him for fear of a Tumult; thus they were forced to Sacrifice their own Judgments, an Army of Friends, and almoſt their whole State to ſatisfie the humour of the People centered in one weak *Man*: The Succeſs

ceſs was no better than the expectation, for *Hannibal* meeting *Penula* near *Capua* totally Routs his whole Army, ſo that of ſixteen thouſand not two hundred eſcaped.

And not long before, *Terentius Varro*, a mean Man in all reſpects, thro' the Favour of the Multitude was choſen Conſul, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition the Senate could make; apprehending the ill Conſequences which muſt happen from ſuch a raſh and inconſiderate Commander in the Army. However, to pleaſe the People, he boldly gave out in all Meetings, and Publick places of *Rome* that he would certainly Defeat *Hannibal*; the raſhneſs of this Man occaſioned the Battel of *Canna*, and the total Overthrow of the *Roman* Army there; ſo that without Oppoſition the Conqueror might have March'd to *Rome*, and by laying waſte

waſt that City, have put an end to the War, and 'twas reckon'd a fault in *Hannibal* he did not; *Maherbal* an Officer telling him, he knew how to get, but not to uſe a Victory. Thus the *Roman* State was brought to the very brink of Ruin and Deſtruction through the means only of a hot-headed Favourite of the Peoples.

Theſe three, *Varro*, *Penula* and *Hanno* are always ſpoken of with Infamy; the Baſeneſs of their Minds and Lives leaving a ſuitable character behind them, the two firſt endangering, the laſt abſolutely ruining a large and Mighty Common-wealth: yet peradventure when they ſaw the concluſion of their Treacheries and Follies was the Ruin of their Native Country, they might have the Fools Excuſe in reſerve, that they did not intend it; which rather ag-

aggravates than leſſens their Crimes; for he that begins a Miſchief upon a ſuppoſition, that at ſuch a time he will put a ſtop to it, will find himſelf miſerably miſtaken.

And as theſe Perſons were juſtly Branded for the Calamity they brought upon their Country, ſo it ought to be conſidered how far the Senators themſelves, both of *Carthage* and *Rome* were acceſſary to their own Misfortune. The Senate of *Rome* was well acquainted with the inabilitys of *Varro* and *Penula* for ſuch Commands as the People preſs'd they might have, expecting from their Conduct nothing but Ruin to the Publick; yet the refuſal of theſe the Senate did believe would put the Common People into ſuch an Uproar, that they ran a hazard of their own Lives; therefore they choſe rather

to

to gratifie the People, tho' to the apparent hazard of the whole Commonwealth than venture their own ſafety; this is *cenſura difficilis*, a ſevere Reflection, eſpecially upon a Senate compoſed of *Romans*, who boaſted of a Publick Spirit beyond the ordinary pitch of Mankind, yet the generality of the fault will much abate the Blame: For 'tis believ'd there are few National or Civil Aſſemblies in the World but have greater care of themſelves than of the Publick.

Certainly the Spirit of *Attilius Regulus* was above moſt Mens imitation, who being a Priſoner at *Carthage*, was ſuffered to go to *Rome* with their Ambaſſadors, upon Faith given to return if Peace was not made: Againſt which, *Regulus* himſelf when he came to *Rome*, gave reaſons to the Senate out of love to his Country; whereupon the Se-

Senate and his own Relations desired, and adviſed him to ſtay, and not return to the *Carthaginians*, enraged by their diſappointment of a Peace, and who, they were informed, were reſolved to uſe him Barbarouſly: He told them he had ſo much of the Spirit of a *Roman* that he could not conſent to what was Baſe or Diſhonourable, and that the Tortures of a Rack were not ſo much to be feared as the ſhame of an Infamous Action, becauſe the firſt only touch'd the Body, but the other pierc'd the very Soul. He returned therefore to *Carthage* to be juſt to his Word, where they put him to Death with the extremeſt Tortures their Wit could invent.

A great Inſtance, to what a contempt of this Life and the pains or pleaſures that belong to it, a meer natural Man may bring himſelf, that

that will free himſelf from the baſe and ſlaviſh importunities of the Senſes; and be guided only by the noble, and ever happy dictates of honour and juſtice; and that the Pains of the Body are much inferiour to thoſe of the Mind: So that the Purity of the Mind is to be preferred before the Pleaſure, or being of the Body.

But no Senate nor Civil Aſſembly can be under ſuch natural impulſes to Honour and Juſtice as ſingle Perſons; for Politick Members meet with neither Encouragement nor Reproaches, for what was the effect of Number only. For a majority is no Body when that majority is ſeparated, and a collective Body can have no ſynteresis or Divine Ray, which is in the mind of every Man, never aſſenting to evil, but upbraiding and tormenting him when he does it: But the Honour and Conſcience

that lies in the majority is too thin and diffuſive to be efficacious; for a Number can do a great Wrong, and call it Right and not one of that majority bluſh for it; hence it is, that though a Publick Aſſembly may lie under great cenſures, yet each Member looks upon himſelf as little concerned; this muſt be the reaſon why a *Roman* Senate ſhould act with leſs Spirit and leſs Honour than any ſingle *Roman* would do: And this compliance of the *Roman* Senate with the Multitude, contrary to their Reaſon, and below their Honour, ſhews, That when the Commonalty are in their heats and commotions, they muſt be forc'd or comply'd with, being rarely capable of Reaſon and Perſwaſion. That 'tis an *Herculean* Labour to perſwade them from an imaginary to a real good; thus to free themſelves fom the difficulties

ties of Reaeaſoning with the Multitude, It was the Wiſdom of the ancient Law-givers, ſuch as *Numa*, *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, to aſſign the Laws they made for the beneſit of the People, (who underſtanding nothing, ſuſpect every thing) to ſome Deity, that they might be received without oppoſition or contempt; the vulgar are eaſily moved, as *Machiavel* ſays, by Arguments that tend to preſent Gain or Loſs, their minds being wholly taken up with the preſent, are ever void of that Wiſdom which is the reſult of Reflection, not capable by comparing the preſent with what has been, of making a rational conjecture of what may be.

As to the *Carthaginian* Senators, it muſt be ſaid, That though their eaſineſs of believing crafty inſinuations, raiſed by baſe and deſigning Spirits, was loſt the great-

eſt General then in the World, and with him, themſelves, and the whole Commonwealth: It is hard to ſay that Charity, that Divine Vertue, ſo neceſſary in ſingle perſons, is dangerous in Governours; in them 'tis prudence to believe all Men are bent to miſchief, and that good is ſeldom done but through Force or Fear, and that moſt have a wit to put in practice the wickedneſs of their minds, as oft as occaſion ſhall ſerve, and to this innate diſpoſition to evil is often added Hypocriſie, making the greateſt ſhews of probity and goodneſs when they intend to deceive moſt; thus *Hanno*, under the diſguiſe of being a Patriot Ruined his Country.

Rome hitherto had beheld with Triumph, the miſeries of War in other Nations, commanding by the right of Conqueſt, the Lives and For-

Fortunes of the beſt part of the World, levelling with the ground their Cities, and leading their Princes in chains; but all terreſtrial Felicities muſt have an end, and Triumphing *Rome* it ſelf is at laſt ſo full of miſeries, as if all the cruelties and barbarities her inſulting Armys had exerciſed on the Nations round about, were return'd into her own Bowels; managed by thoſe that always are the worſt of Enemies, Neighbours and Country-men: For *Fabius* ſaid well, he had rather fall upon the Enemy's Sword than the Citizens Malice, this State-Frenzy of Sedition, which ever proves fatal, was occaſioned by the reviving of the *Agrarian* Law, by which, the Lands taken from their Enemies, and formerly divided among the Nobility, ſhould be ſhared among the People of *Rome*; the contentions about this

Law kindled ſuch a hatred between the People and the Seuate, that it never ended, but with the loſs of the Liberty of *Rome*, and the diſſolution of that Republick.

So vaſt a Deſtruction hapning from the ſingle inconveniencie of a reaſonable Law, too violently urged, may caution wiſe Men to avoid the leaſt beginnings of Strife in a Government, ſince they often breed Contentions, which the wiſeſt heads cannot compoſe: Every Diviſion in a Government is like the breaking out of a Fire, when, and where 'twill end no body knows, and as the *Gracchi*, they may fall firſt, that think themſelves fartheſt from danger.

The various progreſs of theſe contentions between the Senate and the People about this Law; the great Barbarity uſed towards each other's Party, as often as they had

had power. The miſerable ſlaughters and Maſſacres within the City, nd the Effuſion of Blood in the Camps, which never ceaſed till the Common-wealth expired, may be ſeen in their Hiſtories. I ſhall only ſet down ſome few particulars that occur from reflecting upon theſe Civil Feuds of the *Romans*: That a greater Plague cannot come upon a People than a Civil War; For Man has no worſer Enemy than Man; *David* well conſidered this when three Evils were propoſed to him, to entreat the Prophet that he might not fall into the hands of Man: That Authors of civil diſturbances generally have the fate to fall by the Tumults they have raiſed: That a Law may be Juſt and Reaſonable, as this *Agrarian*, and yet not at all times fit to be promoted: 'Tis plain by this alſo, how much Men eſteem

Wealth rather than Honours, for the Nobility of *Rome* ever gave way to the People, where it touch'd matter of Honour without any extraordinary diſtaſte, but when their wealth was concerned, how obſtinately did they defend it, even to Madneſs.

And 'tis more plain, there is not in Nature a point of Stability to be found, every thing either aſcends or declines; when Wars are ended abroad, Sedition begins at home, and when Men are freed from fighting for Neceſſity, they quarrel through Ambition.

It will be ſufficient to fright any thinking People from promoting any publick diſturbances, to conſider the miſeries which befell all Ranks and Orders of People during theſe Diſſenſions.

1. Such a deluge of Calamities as are not to be found in any other poſition of the Humane Nature.

The

The common People were Butchered after a moſt inhumane manner, 8000 put to death together, in a large Houſe in the *Campus Martius*, The Soldiers had liberty to kill all they met, and throughout all the Cities of *Italy*, the effuſion of Blood was ſuch, that neither Temple nor Sanctuary, nor private houſes eſcaped their Fury; ſo that *Sylla* was told, he ought to leave ſome People to Reign over. Not to mention the miſerable Slaughters upon the entrance of *Cinna* and *Marius* into *Rome*, afterward by *Sylla*'s Party alone, being of the contrary Faction, were put to death common people innumerable, two thouſand ſix hundred Gentlemen, fifteen Conſuls, and four ſcore and ten Senators, and that bloody day of *Romans* againſt *Romans*, on the Plains of *Pharſalia* was the effect of this Quarrel; for

Ceſar

Cæſar was made Head of *Marius*'s Party, and *Pompey* of *Sylla*'s.

And though the condition of the People of *Rome* and *Italy* was very deplorable under theſe Civil Diſturbances, yet that of the Commanders, and the chief in Power was in all reſpects much worſe, however they might pride themſelves in being ſatiated with Blood and Revenge; ſince 'tis better to be oppreſſed than to be an oppreſſour, better to be unfortunate than wicked, better dye lamented than live to be curſed, and thought the Scourge and Peſt of one's Country.

For at the ſeveral Entries of *Cinna* and *Marius*, and afterwards of *Sylla* into *Rome*, the Salutations of the People were their Curſes and bitter Out-cries, *in execrationem* Cinna *partiumque Ejus*, as their Hiſtorians write, againſt *Cinna* and his Faction

Faction, and ſo odious, were their practices, that they ſaid of *Marius*, the beſt of them, that he was *in otio civibus, infeſtiſſimus quietiſque impatientiſſimus*, in Peace a bitter Enemy to his Country-men, and of Quiet, moſt impatient; and the ſame Author ſhews the ground of turbulent ſpirits, *Sed iis, quibus & peſſima & immodica cupiditas erat, non poterat pax placere*, That they, whoſe greedy deſires were both extremely wicked and unbounded could not away with peace.

And certainly the Fruit that theſe Gentlemen reap'd from their Sedition, will never tempt any to follow their Example. For their days were ſpent in continual Troubles, their nights muſt be diſmal, whilſt Darkneſs and Silence preſented to their Minds their Cruel and horrid Acts in their proper Colours,

lours, their Characters were Villanous, leaving behind 'em an everlasting Infamy. Their power but momentany, not lasting three years in any. Their Deaths Violent and Infamous, *Cinna* was slain by his own Soldiers. *Marius* indeed died within a month after made Consul which prevented a worse end. *Sylla* was eaten up with Lice, an Impostume so corrupted his flesh, that it turned all to that Vermin, notwithstanding he was continually shifted night and day.

But most dreadful is the consideration of the weight of that guilt which must always accompany their Spirts, for Souls do not inhabit the Dust: Those scenes of Miseries, and Follies that these Men have presented to the World, are a sufficient proof, what base creatures Man-kind are to themselves, and others, when Passions are predominant. The

The common People of *England* have ſuffered the ſame Fate as other Nations, they have been drawn with Heat and Fury, to ſhed one another's Blood for ſuch a Liberty as their Leaders never intended they ſhou'd have, and have fought many Battels, to redreſs Grievances, which Victory, wherever it hapned, always encreaſed; endangering a good Government upon pretences of making it better. Such practices have made Foreigners believe the *Engliſh* are naturally of a turbulent and diſquiet Spirit, as if thoſe Epithets of *perfidi*, *inflati*, *feri*, *amentes*, *immanes*, which *Scaliger* beſtows on us, were true.

But Foreigners have reaſon to think our frequent diſturbances proceed from our Tempers, and not from any Defects in the Government; ſince Learned Writers abroad have declared, that of all

Seig-

Seigniories in the World; the Realm of *England* was the Country where the Common-wealth was beſt Governed.

And Men well Governed ſhould ſeek after no other Liberty, for there can be no greater Liberty than a good Government: The truth is, the eaſineſs of the Government has made ſome ſo wanton as to kick againſt it; our own Hiſtorians write, that moſt of our Kings have been unthankfully uſed.

The Barons Wars have been attributed, by good Hiſtorians, to the ſtubbornneſs of the Nobility, though it carried the ſpecious pretence of confirming Liberties. By this War, *Henry* III. was forc'd for want of Money, to renounce to the King of *France*, for the poor conſideration of 300000*l.* his Right to *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Tourain*, *Main*, and

and *Poictou*, which had coſt the *Engliſh* much Blood, and Money, and by the loſs of thoſe Havens and Ports a t'other ſide, the Ocean our wall, the natural and beſt Fence of our Iſland, is left naked and expoſed.

It has been obſerved alſo, That ſince theſe Troubles from the Barons; the Kings of *England*, to leſſen the power of the Nobility, and ballance them, have yielded to the growing greatneſs and Privileges of the Commons, and what effect that will have, time can only ſhew. Politicians do affirm, that Nobility preſerves Liberty longer than the Commons, and for inſtance, ſay, *Solon*'s popular State came far ſhort of *Lycurgus*'s by mixt Government. For the Popular State of *Athens* ſoon fell; whilſt the Royal, mixt Government of *Sparta* ſtood a mighty time, by Nobility

Sparta,

Sparta. and *Venice* enjoyed their Freedom longer than *Rome.*

The terribleneſs of Civil War and Diſſenſions will be ſufficiently made out by obſerving the Methods of Divine Providence; for never was any place ſo ſeverely threatned with terrible Judgments and Deſolations as *Jeruſalem*, the Capital City of the Holy Land, and the Seat of Religion for above 1100 years; and for a full accompliſhment of that Wrath and Vengeance which was pronounc'd againſt it, it pleaſed God to ſuffer a mighty Faction and Sedition to be raiſed within it ſelf, as one certain means of its Miſery and Deſtruction.

'Tis plain whilſt we are mixt Bodys, we are continually paſſing from one alteration to another, as well civilly as naturally: For inconveniencies and offences, as the Scripture declares, will come, but withal,

withal, adds a woe unto them, by whom they do come; 'tis the qualifications of our contemporaries, of the Men that dwell at the ſame time with us, muſt make us happy or miſerable; it muſt be their Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Honour, which are not local, as the Law calls it, tyed or annexed to a place, but moving and tranſitory, as Fortune it ſelf. For there is the ſame proportion of good and evil in the World as ever, tho' it ſhifts and changes, not always in the ſame place, and never in the ſame degree; even the holy worſhip of God Religion, through the wickedneſs of Men, has had its marches: Nor is Man alone the ſubject of Alteration and Viciſſitude, but the Earth it ſelf is ſometimes dry Land, and ſometimes overwhelmed with Waters, and a fruitful Land has been turn'd into barren-

neſs, for the wickedneſs of them that dwell therein; all ſublunaries being in continual motion, little knowledg in Hiſtory will convince us, that Perſons, Families, Countries, and Nations have alternately fall'n from great Wealth, Honour and Power, to Poverty and Contempt, and to the very dregs of Slavery: We muſt look a long way back to find the *Romans* giving Laws to Nations, and their Conſuls bringing Kings and Princes bound in Chains to *Rome* in Triumph; to ſee Men go to *Greece* for Wiſdom, or *Ophir* for Gold, when now nothing remains but a poor paper remembrance of their former condition.

It would be an unſpeakable advantage, both to the publick and private, if Men would conſider that great truth, that no Man is wiſe or ſafe, but he that is honeſt: All

I have deſigned is Peace to my Country, and may *England* enjoy that Bleſſing when I ſhall have no more proportion in it than what my Aſhes make.

OF

OF

Eccleſiaſtical Power.

THE Levitical Prieſts in the old Law never arrogated unto themſelves any Temporal, or Coercive Power, nor advanced their Miters againſt the Crown of *Iſrael*. They well underſtood what Authority God had committed unto them, and reſted therewithal content. Some wrangling hereabout hath been of late, the PopesFlatterers, labouring to prove, That the High Prieſts of old were not ſubject to the Kings of *Judah*; and Men of better Spirit and Learning have ſhewed them the contrary.

But

But whatſoever befel in thoſe days when there was no King in *Iſrael*, that is, before the Reign of *Saul*, or after the Captivity of *Babel*, ſure it is, that the Sons of *Aaron* were always obedient to the Sons of *David*, and acknowledged them their Lords.

As for the Race of the *Maccabees*, that held both the Kingdom and the Prieſt-hood at once, it falls not within this Conſideration. The firſt thereof (of whom I read) that uſed the advantage of Honour given him in matter of Religion, towards the getting of Temporal Poſſeſſions, was (if not *Mahomet* himſelf) *Abubequer* the Succeſſor unto *Mahomet*: This Man having obtained by the help of Friends, the miſerable happineſs of being choſen heir unto the foul Impoſtor in his Dignity of Prophet, made it one of his firſt works to Diſpoyl

poor *Aliffe* the Nephew of *Mahomet*, and heir of his great Riches, taking all from him by this pretence, That to whom belonged the Succeſſion in Wiſdom, to him alſo belonged the Succeſſion in Wealth: And this grew preſently to be a famous queſtion among the Doctors of the *Saracen* Law. But however it were then decided, we ſee how the Mufti, or High *P*relate, who is the only Oracle among the *Turks* in Spiritual matters, lives, and holds all that he hath at the diſcretion of the great Sultan. Nevertheleſs, it ſhould ſeem that the Doctrine of *Abubequer* hath not loſt all force; for the Examples are many in all *Saracens* Lands, of *P*rophets or Decemors, who having got that name never reſted until they became Kings.

The *S*eriffo in *Barbary* was one of the laſt, who, having once acquired

quired the Opinion of a Holy Man, afterwards found means to become a Captain, and Lord of a ſmall Territory, and finally, encreaſed his Followers, and withal, his Bounds, ſo faſt, and ſo far, as having made himſelf King of *Morocco*, he had the Grace to tell the King of *Feſs* (lately his Soveraign) that both *Feſſe*, and all the Kingdoms of thoſe Parts were belonging to his own Holineſs, and this he made good by winning all ſoon after.

Whether the claim which the *Popes* lay to the *Supremacy* over all Kingdoms and Eſtates had not Affinity with the Doctrine of *Abubequer*, let other Men judge, That their practices to maintain it have been ſuitable to thoſe of the *Seriffe*, all Hiſtories do verify.

For when Pope *Gregory* II. procured the City of *Rome*, and ſome

other places in *Italy* to Rebell againſt the Emperour, *Leo* III. What other Colour uſed he, than that he himſelf had Excommunicated *Leo*, as an Ungodly *Prince*, for breaking down Images that were Worſhipped in Churches; when, for this reaſon (*Paul* the *Exarch*) Lieutenant unto the Emperour Beſieged *Rome*, with the Aſſiſtance of *Luitprand* King of the *Lombards*? By what other Art did the Pope remove the Siege, than by perſwading the *Lombards* with a tale of *Peter* and *Paul*, that had Conſecrated the City of *Rome* with their precious blood? Thus was Devotion made the Cloak for Treaſon, and thus did the *Popes* firſt ſlip their Necks out of the Emperor's Collar.

Within very few years after this, by the like Religious pretext were thoſe *Princes* of *France*, *Charles Mar-*

Martel, *Pepin*, and *Charlemaigne* won to assist the *P*apacy against the *Lombards*, yea, to give unto S. *Peter* the most part of those Lands which the *P*ope now holds in *Italy*, and not restore them to the Emperour, from whom the *Lombards* had gotten them, and thereunto *Pepin* was perswaded for his Soul's health.

Yet had *P*ope *Zachary*, through the Opinion that went of his Holiness, done a notable good office for *Pepin* before, when he released the *French-men* of their Oath to King *Chilperick*, and was the cause that *Pepin* was chosen in his stead, by saying, That rather, he should be King, who did the King's Duty, than he who did it not.

In like manner did *P*ope *Leo* recompence the Benefits of *Charlemaigne*, by setting him up as Emperour in the *West* against those of *Con-*

Conſtantinople. But in theſe mutual Offices the Biſhops did only help with grateful words, to adorn that Might which *Pepin* and *Charlemaigne* had before acquired, whereas thoſe Kings uſed force of Arms to erect the *Papacy* into a *P*rincipality, that was yet held in a Vaſſalage unto themſelves.

Now this could not ſatisfie the Ambition of that See, whichgloried falſely, to be the Holy See Apoſtolick: For as the Reputation of the *Roman P*relates grew up in thoſe blind Ages, under the Weſtern Emperours, much faſter than true *P*iety could cauſe it in former times, when better Learning had flouriſhed; ſo grew up in them withal a deſire of amplifying their power, that they might be as great in Temporal Forces as Men's Opinions had formed them in Spiritual Mat-

Matters: Immediately therefore, npon the death of *Charlemaigne* they began to neglect the Emperour's Conſent in their Elections, aand finding in them that afterwards Reigned of the Houſe of *France*, either too much patience, or too much weakneſs, they were bold, within ſeventy years to decree, That in the Creation of Popes the Emperour ſhould have nothing at all to do, (having obtained this) it followed, that they ſhould make themſelves Lords over the whole Clergy in all Kingdoms.

But the work was great, and could not be accompliſh'd in haſte; for they were much diſturbed at home with the people of *Rome*, who ſeeing about fifty Popes, or rather, maintainers of Papacy, would now have them called Monſters *of* S. Peter's *Chair*, deſpiſing that

Hy-

Hypocriſie, which the World abroad did reverence as Holineſs.

Likewiſe the Empire falling from the Line of *Charlemaigne* to the mighty houſe of *Saxony*, was ſo ſtrongly upheld by the firſt Princes of that Race, as it greatly troubled the Ambition of thoſe aſpiring Spirits of Prelates. Yet, no impediment could always be of force to withſtand the violence of ſo ſeeming Sanctity.

The *Polonians*, *Hungarians*, and ſome other far remote Nations had yielded themſelves in ſubjection, more than meerly Spiritual, even to thoſe Popes whom *Italy* knew to be deteſtable Men.

As for the *Roman* Citizens, they were chaſtiſed by the Sword, and taught to acknowledge the Pope their Lord, though they knew not by what right; long it was indeed e'er they could (with much ado) be

be throughly tamed; becauſe they knowing the Lewdneſs of their Prelates and this Court, the Devotion unto him, (the Trade by which now they live) was very ſmall; becauſe alſo they were the Pope's domeſtick Forces, againſt which no Prince did happily contend: But finally, the Pope's Arms prevailed, or when his own were too weak, the Emperor's, or other Princes. The Sword of the People, even of their own Subjects hath been uſed, by teaching all Chriſtians in our Weſtern World a falſe Leſſon, *viz.* That it is *L*awful and Meritorious to Rebell againſt *K*ings Excommunicated and *D*epoſed by the Pope. This Curſe was firſt laid upon the Emperor *Hen.*4. by Pope *Hildebrand*, or *Gregory* 7. It is true that I ſaid before, that *Leo* of *Conſtantinople* had felt the ſame, though not in the ſame ſort;

for

for *Leo* being Excommunicated, was not withal Depoſed only, but ſuffered a Revolt of ſome *Italian* Subjects; and one may ſay that the *German* Emperonr deſerv'd this plague, ſince the Founder thereof had given Countenance to the Popes Rebelling againſt their Soveraigns, the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*; howſoever it were, when *Hildebrand* had Accurſed and Caſt down from his Throne, *Henry* 4. there was none ſo hardy as to defend their Injured *L*ord againſt the Counterfeit Name of St. *Peter*: wherefore he was fain to humble himſelf before *Hildebrand*; upon Whom he waited three days barefoot in the Winter, e'er he could be admitted into his preſence, neither yet could he otherwiſe get Abſolution, than by ſubmitting his Eſtate unto the Pope's good pleaſure; what was his Fault? He had refu-

refuſed to yield up to the Pope the Inveſtiture of Biſhops, and Collation of Eccleſiaſtical Dignities within his Dominions, a Right that had always belonged unto Princes until that day. It were ſuperfluous to tell how grievouſly he was afflicted all his life after, notwithſtanding his Submiſſion. In brief, the unapeaſeable Rage of *Hildebrand* and his Succeſſours never left perſecuting him, by raiſing one Rebellion after another. Yea, his own Children roſe up againſt him, till diſpoyl'd of his Crown, he was fain to beg Food of the Biſhop of *Spires*; promiſing to earn it in a Church of his own Building, by doing there a Clerk's Duty, for he would ſerve the Quire; and not obtaining this, he pined away and died.

That Biſhop of *Spires* dealt herein perhaps rather Fearfully than Cruelly; for he had to terrifie him

the

the Example of *Vitello*, Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz*, chief Prelate among the *Germans*, who was condemned of Hereſie, having deny'd that the Emperour might be deprived of his Crown by the Pope's Authority.

If Princes therefore be careful to exclude the Doctrine of *Hildebrand* out of their Dominions, who can blame them of Rigour.

This Example of *Hildebrand*, though it could not have been forgot, might have been omitted, had it not been ſeconded with many of the ſame Nature: But this was neither one Pope's Fault, nor one Prince's Deſtiny. He muſt write a Story of the Empire, that means to tell of all their dealings in this kind; as how he wrought upon *Henry* 5. whom they had ſet up againſt his Father; what horrible effuſion of Blood they cauſed by

their often Thundering upon *Frederick*, and how they reſted not till they had made the Empire Headleſs about ſeventeen years together.

Thoſe things moved *Rodolph*, Earl of *Habſpurg*, who was choſen Emperorur after that long Vacation, to refuſe the Ceremony of being Crowned at *Rome*, tho' he were thereto urged by the Electors; for, (ſaid he) our *Ceſars* have gone to *Rome* as the fooliſh Beaſts in *Æſop*'s Fables, went to the Lion's Den, leaving very goodly footſteps of their Journey thitherwards, but not the like of their return.

The ſame Opinion moſt of the Succeeding Emperours held, or almoſt all, neglecting the *Roman* Coronation, good cauſe why; ſince the Popes (beſides many Extortions which they practiſed about that Ceremony) Arrogated thence

unto themſelves, that the Empire was held of them in Homage, and dealt they not after the ſame faſhion with other Kingdoms?

What Right had St. *Peter* to the Crowns of *Sicily*, and of *Naples*? The *Roman* Princes won thoſe Lands from the *Saracens*, who had formerly taken them from the Empire of *Conſtantinople*: The ſame *Romans* had alſo been Mighty Defenders of the Papacy in many dangers; yet when time ſerved, the Pope took upon him as Lord paramount of thoſe Countries, to drive out one King and ſet up another, with a Bloody Confuſion of all *Italy*, retaining the Soveraignty to himſelf.

In *France* he had the daring to pronounce himſelf ſuperiour to the King in all matters, both Temporal and Spiritual.

The Crown of *Poland* he forced

to

to hold of his Mitre, by impoſing a Subjection in way of Penance, for that the *Poliſh* King had cauſed one St. *Stainſlaus* to be ſlain.

For the death of St. *Thomas Becket* and (more ſtrangely) for a refuſal of an Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* whom his Holineſs had appointed, he impoſed the like penance upon *England*.

Alſo when our King *Ed.* I. made War upon the *Scots*, word came from *Rome*, That he ſhould ſurceaſe, for that the Kingdom of *Scotland* belonged to the Pope's Chappel.

A great overſight it was of S. *Peter* that he did not accurſe *Nero*, and all Heathen Princes, whereby the Pope's Chappel ought to have gotten all that the Devil offered, and our Saviour Chriſt refuſed: Yet whatneed was there of ſuch a Band, ſince Fryar *Vincent* of *Valverda* could tell *Ata-*

balippa King of *Peru*, That all the Kingdoms of the Earth were the Pope's, who had beſtowed more than half thereof upon the King of *Spain*. If the Pope will have it ſo, it muſt be ſo, otherwiſe, I ſhould have Interpreted that place of *Geneſis*, *Increaſe and Multiply, and fill the Earth*, as ſpoken to *Noah* and his Children, not as directed only to *Tubal*, *Namar*, and *Phutt*, the ſuppoſed Fathers of the old *Ibreans*, *Goths*, and *Moors*, of whom the *Spaniſh* Blood is compounded; but of ſuch Impudent Preſumption in diſpoſing of Countries far removed, and whereto the Sword muſt acquire a better Title, the Miſchief is not preſently diſcovered.

It were well if his Holineſs had not loved to ſet the World in an uproar, by nouriſhing Wars among them that reſpected him as a Common Father.

His

His Diſpenſing with Oaths taken for agreement between one King and another, or between Kings and Subjects, do ſpeak no better of him; for by what right was it that *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* wan the Kingdom of *Navarre*? why did not the Confederacy that was between *Lewis* XII. of *France* and the *Venetians* hinder that King from Warring upon *Venice*? Why did not the like between *England* and *France* hinder our King *Henry* VIII. from Warring upon the Son of King *Lewis*? Was it not the Pope, who did ſet on the *French*, to the end that himſelf might get *Ravenna* from the *Venetians*? Was it not the ſame Pope, who afterwards (upon deſire to drive the *French* out of *Italy*) Excommunicated *Lewis* and his Adherents, by virtue of which Excommunication, *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* Seized upon *Navarre*.

And ſerved not the ſame Warrant to ſet our *Henry* upon the Back of *France*; But this was not our Kings fault more than all the People; We might with ſhame confeſs it, if other Countries had not been as blindly Superſtitious as our Fathers. That a Barque of Apples, Bleſſed by the Pope and ſent hither for Preſents to thoſe that would be forward in the War upon *France*, made all our *Engliſh* haſty to take Arms; in ſuch ſort, as the *Italians* wondred, and laughed to ſee our Men no leſs greedy of thoſe Apples, than *Eve* was of the Forbidden Fruit, for which they were to hazard their Lives in an unjuſt War: Few Ages have wanted ſuch, and more grievous Examples of the Pope's Tumultuous Diſpoſition, but theſe were among the leaſt that fell out before his Unholineſs was Detected. Now for his Diſpenſing between

Kings

Kings and their Subjects, we need not ſeek Inſtances far fromhome.

He Abſolved our King *John* of an Oath given to the Barons, and People, The Barons and People he afterwards Diſcharged of their Allegiance to King *John*.

King *Henry* III. had appeaſed his Land, (how wiſely I ſay not) but taking ſuch an Oath as his Father had done, Swearing, he was a Knight, a Chriſtian, and a King: But in a Sermon at *Paul*'s, where People were taught how little was to be repoſed to ſuch Aſſurance, the Pope's Diſpenſation being there openly Read, which pronounced that Oath void; good cauſe why, for that King had the patience to be like neither Knight, nor King, but as the Pope's Tenant and Rent-gatherer in *England*. But when the ſame King adventured to murmur, the Pope could

threaten to teach him his Duty, with a Vengeance, and make him know what it was to winch, and play the *Frederick*.

Thus we see what has been his Custom to Oppress *Kings* by their People, and the People by their *Kings*, yet this was for serving his own turn,

Wherein had our *King Henry* VI offended him (which *King*, Pope *Julius*, would after, for a little Money, make a Saint) nevertheless the Pope's Absolving of *Richard*, *Duke of York* from that honest Oath which he had given, by Mediation of all this Land to that good *King*, occasioned both the *King*, and the *Duke*'s Ruin, and therewithall all those long and cruel Wars between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, and brought all *England* into a horrible Combustion, what he meant by

this

this I know not, unleſs to verify the Proverb. *Omnia Romæ Venalia.*

I will not urge the Diſpenſation whereby the Pope Releaſed King *Philip* II. of *Spain* from his Solemn Oath, by which he was bound to maintain the *Privileges* of the *Nether-lands*; tho' the *Papal* Indulgence hath ſcarce as yet left working, and been the cauſe of ſo many Hundred Thouſands ſlain, for theſe laſt forty years, in the *Nether-lands.*

Neither will I urge the *Pope's* encouraging of *Henry* II. and his Sons, to the laſt againſt the *French Proteſtants*, the cauſe of the firſt three Civil Wars, and laſtly, of the leavying of the *Byrons*, in which there have periſhed no leſs than in the *Low-Countries.*

For our Countrey, it affords an Example of freſh Memory; ſince we ſhould have had as Furious a War as ever, both upon us, and a-

mong

mong us, in the days of our late Famous Soveraign, Queen *Elizabeth*, if Pope *Pius*'s Bull could have Goared as well as he could Bellow.

Therefore it were not amiſs to anſwer by Herald, the next Pontifical Attempt of like Nature, rather ſending Defiance, as to an Enemy, than publiſhing Anſwers as to one that had here to do, by any Lawful Power, either in Civil or *Eccleſiaſtical* after ſuch time as *Britain* was won from the *Roman* Empire.

For howſoever it were ordered in ſome of the firſt Holy General Councils, That the Pope of *Rome* ſhould be Patriarch over theſe Quarters, yea, or were it ſuppoſed that the forged Canons, by which he now challengeth more than Precedency, and Supremacy, had alſo been made indeed, yet could this little help his Claim in

King-

Kingdoms that hold not of the Empire. For thoſe right Holy Fathers did not make Truth, but Religiouſly expound it, by virtue of Eccleſiaſtical Government; they did not Create Princes, but ordered the Diſcipline of the Countries, which they then had.

There were Aſſemblies of all the Biſhops in the *Roman* World, and with the *Roman* Dominion only they meddled; requiſite it is, that the Faith which they taught ſhould be embraced in all Countries, as it ought likewiſe to be entertained in the *Eaſt*, if the ſame had been in like ſort illuſtrated, not by them, but by General Councils of the Biſhops, in the great Kingdom of the *Abyſſines*, which is thought to have been Chriſtian in thoſe days: But it was not requiſite, nor is, that the Biſhop of the *Abyſſines* and of *India* ſhould

ſhould be under direction of the Patriarch of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*; queſtionleſs, thoſe Godly Fathers of the *Nicene*, and of the *Chalcedonian* Council ſo thought: For they took not upon them to order the Church-Government in *India*, where St. *Thomas* had Preached, nor to range the Subjects of *Preſter-John* (as we call them) under any of themſelves; much leſs to frame an Hierarchy upon Earth, whereto Men of all Nations whatſoever, ſhould be Subject in Spiritual Obedience.

If *Conſtantine* and his Succeſſors, the *Roman* Emperours could have won all *Aſia*, like it is, that in the Council following, more Patriarchs would have been ordained for the *Eccleſiaſtical* Government of that large Continent, and not all thoſe vaſt Countries to be left un-

to

to him of *Antioch* and *Conſtantinople*. But ſince, contrariwiſe, the Empire became loſt. The Patriarchs, whoſe Juriſdiction depended upon the *Empire*, became loſers alſo.

We grant that even in the times of Perſecution, before Chriſtian Biſhops durſt hold open Aſſemblies, There was given ſpecial Honour to the Biſhops that were over the chief Cities, that Unity might the better be preſerved, and Hereſie kept out of the Church; but this Honour was no more than a Precedency and Dignity without coercive Power, extending no farther than to matter of Religion, and not having to do (but in the general way of Chriſtian Love) with any Strangers.

We therefore that are no Dependants on the *Empire*, ought not

not to be troubled with the Authority, (be it what it may be) of any Aſſemblies of their Godly Fathers, which all Subjects of that *Empire* believe are ordained for their own better Government: But rather ſhould regard the Biſhop of *Rome*, as the Iſlanders of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey* do him of *Conſtance* in *Normandy*, that is, nothing at all; ſince by that *French* Biſhop's refuſal to ſwear unto the King, Thoſe Iſles were annexed to the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*.

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